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LIBRARY NOTES AND NEWS.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

DR. MINGANA has provided us with yet another of the thrilling discoveries, which we have been led to expect from time to time as the result of his exploration of the magnificent collection of Syriac, Garshūni, and other oriental manuscripts known as the "Mingana Collection," which has been given in trust by Mr. Edward Cadbury to the Woodbrooke Settlement at Selly Oak, Birmingham, and of the collections of oriental manuscripts in the John Rylands Library.

On this occasion the discovery is of more than usual interest and importance, in that it concerns the authorship of the Fourth Gospel, about which there always has been some doubt.

Hitherto, the authorship has been generally attributed to John the Apostle, but according to the new evidence which Dr. Mingana describes in the opening article of the present issue, the actual writer was John the Younger, one of the disciples of John the Apostle.

Hitherto, the tradition has been that the Fourth Gospel was written at Ephesus, or perhaps at Patmos on the eve of the Apostle's return to Ephesus from the island of his banishment, at the solicitation of the Christians there, who begged him to leave them some memorial of his sojourn among them. But, the manuscript which has furnished the new evidence as to the authorship, also states that the Gospel was written in Bithynia, which is a considerable distance from Ephesus.

This discovery will lead to further and fuller investigation of the points raised, and may have far-reaching results.

JUBILEE COMMEMORATION OF THE VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

The Jubilee of the foundation of the Victoria University of Manchester, and the eightieth anniversary of Owens College, were celebrated in Manchester, on Friday, the 23rd of May. The celebration opened with a service in the Cathedral at which the Archbishop of York (Dr. William Temple) was the preacher. In the afternoon a Congregation for the conferment of honorary degrees was held in the great Free Trade Hall, which was filled to its utmost capacity with a brilliant assembly ; and in the evening there was a dinner in the Whitworth Hall of the University. The celebration concluded on Saturday with a garden party in the Sports Ground of the University, at Fallowfield.

In the course of his sermon the Archbishop said : "They were met to give thanks for the faith of those who, in times when the prospects of such an enterprise were far from bright, founded fifty years ago what they now knew as the University of Manchester ; and for the many servants of that great centre of illumination who during those fifty years had conferred upon it a lustre by which it now shone among the brightest of all the sources of light by which the problems of our existence, our life, our progress were illumined. The spiritual life of man was one. It had many departments and functions, but it remained one life, and at one time that single life seemed to receive its sufficient expression through the organisation of the Christian Church."

It was a memorable sermon which concluded on the following high note :

"In the guardianship of man's spiritual life are three main agencies—the State, the University, the Church. The State's main function is to maintain the level which has been reached, checking in all of us by its sanctions and penalty and shame any tendency from time to time to fall below them. The function of the Church is mainly, not to maintain the level of progress already reached, but to call us ever to higher levels, until at last, even if that last be at the far end of an infinite eternity, perfection is attained. And the University must keep both Church and State from aberration or fantasy by the austere discipline of its disinterested search for truth. All of them are necessary. In all of them God fulfils Himself. And to-day in this Church of God we join to give thanks for a University which has for fifty years been true to its high calling."

The address of commemoration was delivered by the Chancellor (the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres) as follows :—

"On such an occasion as this it is fitting that on behalf of the University I should extend a cordial message of welcome to our visitors, thanking them for their congratulations to us on the attainment of our fiftieth anniversary, thanking them also for the generous encouragement afforded to us by their presence. Let me here, on behalf of my University, acknowledge how profound and how deep-felt is our gratitude towards all those of past generations and of our own who have supported us in the difficult task we have assumed.

"Our memories in the first instance must naturally go back to our benefactors at our inception, to our original founders, who, with an enthusiasm and with a conviction far beyond all praise, set their hearts and minds to the accomplishment of this great purpose. And since them generation after generation of our governing bodies and of our teaching staff have shown devotion to duty, have shown zeal for learning, have expressed their conviction in unfaltering courage for which too much praise can never be given.

"Finally, as a university we owe much to the public authorities of the country : first and foremost to the State, represented to-day by one of our honorary graduands—the State which, perhaps somewhat tardily, has realised its obligations towards those seats of higher learning. Then our sense of obligation to our local public authorities is also great ; to our own three counties from which we draw the bulk of our students : Lancashire, Cheshire, Derbyshire, and to our own municipalities in Lancashire, beginning, of course, with the city of Manchester, our home. We receive regular and unflagging support from her, as also from the city of Salford, from Blackburn, Bolton, Stockport, Burnley, Wigan, Oldham, Rochdale, Bury, Warrington, Preston, with the non-county boroughs of Widnes, Chorley, Leigh, Hyde ; and if you want proof of my words I refer you to the wealth of pectoral adornment by which higher learning is now surrrounded and happily buttressed.

"Now this, ladies and gentlemen, is an encouragement which no ancient university in our land can boast. It is a source of strength to us ; I believe likewise to them, for their help makes us part of the public life of their great populations. They are identified freely and willingly with ourselves ; they take charge of education at its inception ; we are responsible for its ultimate stages. The closer the collaboration between us the more perfect and the more efficient will be what is called the ladder leading from elementary education to the University itself. For all these alliances, with our founders, our staff, with the State, with our public representatives, with our students, we are profoundly grateful. We mean to use all the forces at our command for the improvement of education as such ; likewise for building up the personality and the character of all those brought within our sphere of influence. In so doing we shall do our utmost to contribute something to the general welfare of our great community."

There were ten honorary graduands, who were presented to the Chancellor by Professor Alexander, with his customary urbanity and felicity : five in law, one in letters, three in science, and one in music.

The first to be presented, for the Doctorate of Laws, was Brigadier-General CHARLES GATES DAWES, the American Ambassador, famous for presiding over the committee of economic experts which by the plan, which bears his name, for adjusting the debt of Germany, brought relief to distracted Europe.

In SARA MARJORY FRY, Principal of Somerville College, Oxford (Doctor of Laws), the University honoured a woman of high distinction in public affairs, and a leader in the academical education of women.

Sir ALFRED HOPKINSON, K.C. (Doctor of Laws), a former Vice-Chancellor, who came to Manchester as Principal of Owens College, at a critical period of its adolescence, and at an eventful moment he determined the breaking up of what was then the Federal University, which left Manchester, and Liverpool, and Leeds to pursue with conspicuous profit their independent careers. Professor Alexander attested, as one of Sir Alfred's colleagues, with what unchanging affection he was regarded.

PHILIP SNOWDEN (Doctor of Laws), an eminent statesman, the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, who has earned the respect, not unmixed with fear, of all parties at home and of foreign countries abroad. He is one of those statesmen who by some paradox of our public life are so few in number that they are always distinguished by the sobriquet "honest."

ARTHUR HENRY WORTHINGTON (Doctor of Laws), a graduate of the University, for many years a member of the Council, and familiar with every aspect of its academical and administrative life, who is at present the Chairman of the Council.

RICHARD HENRY TAWNEY (Doctor of Letters), the famous economic historian, and the missionary of adult education, who was responsible for delivering the first tutorial courses ever given for the Workers' Educational Association, of which he is now president in succession to the Archbishop of York.

EDGAR STERLING COBBOLD (Doctor of Science), an eminent geologist, trained in Owens College sixty years ago as an engineer, who has devoted his life to the study of rocks in the region of Church Stretton, particularly of the Cambrian rocks and their fauna, and is the inspirer of the young men whom he is eager to encourage, and the geologists who visit him from all parts.

JAMES LORRAIN SMITH (Doctor of Science), a former professor of pathology at Manchester, whose many rare gifts, not the least of which his academic statesmanship, have endeared him to Manchester. He includes in one comprehensive view not his own subject alone, but the whole compass of university studies.

ARTHUR SMITHELLS (Doctor of Science), a distinguished chemist, famous for fixing in separation from one another the two cones of the Bunsen flame, which made possible the study of the nature and order of changes which occur in combustion. One of the distinguished sons of the Manchester school of chemistry, who have gone forth like colonists from a Greek city to found new schools of chemistry in other places.

DAME ETHEL MARY SMITH (Doctor of Music), a notable figure in English music, and one of the foremost in advancing the claims of women in every field, giving up two whole years of her musical life to the movement for securing the franchise.

General Dawes and Mr. Philip Snowden responded on behalf of the new honorary graduates. Mr. Snowden concluded his speech with the following words of appreciation :—

"I can only express feebly in words the thanks of all of us whom you have honoured this afternoon. We congratulate the University upon the attainment of its jubilee, and acknowledge the great work it has done. A most striking advance has taken place during the last fifty years. When I was a lad the chances of a poor boy going to a university were hardly existent. Now any lad of parts has few difficulties to surmount in going from the elementary school to the university ; and it is universities like this in Manchester—those universities which we call the new universities—which have democratised higher education. They have done a magnificent work, but there is greater scope for their work in the future. There never was greater need than there is to-day for trained men and trained women in every sphere of industry, and every other walk of life. This University has done magnificent work of that kind during the last fifty years, and I am sure it has before it a still greater career of usefulness to the community."

THE THEOLOGICAL FACULTY OF MANCHESTER.

The following paragraph has been communicated by Sir Alfred Hopkinson to supplement the article from his pen which appeared in our last issue :—

Reading through the January number of "THE BULLETIN," in which I am particularly glad to see Professor Birkett's admirable address printed at length, I see from the note on page 257 of the remarks which I made when the foundation of the Theological Faculty was commemorated last November, it *may appear* that there was a serious omission in regard to those who took part in the movement. The subject which I had in mind at the time was the controversy which took place on the Court of the University some time before the grant of the new Charter in 1903. A proposal to institute a Faculty in the Victoria University had been made by Dr. Ward and seconded by Dr. Rendall but had failed owing to opposition from various quarters. Dr. Ward, immediately after my appointment, urged me to bring it up again, and this was done with the support, as I mentioned, both of Bishop Moorhouse, of Dr. Maclaren and also of Dr. Caleb Scott, then Principal of Lancashire Independent College. We were not able then to secure what we wished, and possibly the proposal for instituting theological degrees would never have taken effect unless Manchester had, as a separate University, secured the power of acting without others and of adapting itself to all the local circumstances. When the actual discussion of the conditions on which a Faculty could be instituted took place in 1903, Dr. Moorhouse had been succeeded by Bishop Knox, who from the beginning of these discussions gave invaluable support and acted on the Advisory Committee, of which Dr. Fairbairn of Mansfield College was also a member. One of the happiest things in connection with the Faculty was the manner in which the representatives of the Church of England and of the Free Churches thus worked together. Bishop Welldon, then Dean of Manchester, took a direct and useful part in the actual teaching. Bishop Knox also founded the Egerton Hall at the head of which was Archdeacon Allen, who also took a valuable part both in training its inmates for the Church and in the regular work of the Faculty. Dr. Adeney succeeded Dr. Caleb Scott as Principal of the Lancashire College, which had for many years held an assured position in the county, and the connection between the College and the University was always very close. So from the outset special favourable conditions existed and friendly relationships were established between various religious bodies, and in this Bishop Knox's action was all along most helpful. So the success of the Faculty was assured when, in addition to this, it secured the services as Professors and Lecturers of the scholars of the highest distinction to whose work reference was so fittingly made by other speakers when the twenty-first anniversary of its institution was recently celebrated.

PROPOSED MEMORIAL TO PROFESSOR TOUT.

We welcome and commend the proposal to raise a permanent memorial to the late Professor T. F. Tout, who for thirty-five years filled the chair of Mediæval History in the University of Manchester, and devoted his life to the creation of a school of genuine historical study, principally in mediæval history, which has won world-wide fame as the "Manchester School of History."[1]

Another of Professor Tout's great achievements was the promotion of the Manchester University Press in 1904, of which he acted as chairman and guiding spirit down to the time of his retirement from Manchester in 1925. Under his guidance the Press has performed an incalculable service, by making possible the publication of many valuable contributions to scholarship, which otherwise would probably never have received the publicity and permanence of print. The series of historical monographs, in particular, is one of the most remarkable series that has ever issued from any university in any country.

It is proposed that the memorial shall take the form of a fund with which to endow the University Press with the means of helping the publication of works of historical research; and we feel sure there must be many friends and admirers of Professor Tout, not only in this country, but beyond the seas, who will regard it as a privilege to be allowed to participate in this memorial, which is being raised in grateful recognition of his services to the whole world of historical learning.

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[1] See pp. 8-11 of our last issue.

The proposal outlined in the following circular is signed in the main by the leading historians, who thus express their sense of the contributions made to their own branch of scholarship, but it contains also the names of scholars influential in other fields of learning:

> "Of the many institutions with which Professor Tout was associated, two especially may rightly look to him as their founder. These are the Manchester School of Historical Research and the Manchester University Press. A scheme in which the two were associated would be particularly suitable as a memorial.
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> "We propose to raise a fund (to be called the Tout Memorial Publication Fund) to assist the publication of learned historical works by the Manchester University Press. Works of this kind, owing to their special character, appeal to a limited public, and it is generally impossible to print them without a subsidy. The nucleus of such a fund has already been formed from the proceeds of the volume of "Essays in Mediæval History Presented to Thomas Frederick Tout," published in 1925. He himself often talked of the need of a fund for this purpose, and the proposal here outlined would have had his warm support
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> "We suggest that while members of the University of Manchester, and perhaps works in mediæval history, should have the first consideration, the advantages should not be confined to them, but should be available for any historical work published by the Manchester University Press. Subscriptions should be sent to H. M. McKechnie, hon. treasurer, the University Press, 23 Lime Grove, Oxford Road, Manchester."

Those who subscribe to this fund will not only pay a tribute to the work of Thomas Frederick Tout by helping to carry it on, but they will smooth the path for the science and art of history in the future.

PROPOSED MEMORIAL TO PROFESSOR A. S. PEAKE.

A circular letter has been issued by a Committee specially formed to make the necessary arrangements for some permanent memorial to be raised to the late Professor A. S. Peake. This appeal for funds with which to carry out the proposal, needs very few words to commend it to the hosts of students of the Bible in this and in every English speaking country, where the name of Peake is honoured, and where "Peake's Commentary" is in constant request.

As we pointed out in the tribute to our friend's memory which appeared in our last issue: Professor Peake served with distinction for twenty-six years the University of Manchester, as Rylands Professor of Biblical Exegesis; and for well-nigh forty years he was the dearly loved tutor of the Primitive Methodist College, now known as Hartley College, Manchester, where his influence upon the thought of generations of students was unbounded.

The appeal is made by the Primitive Methodist Church, and it is fitting that this should be so, for that church was the spiritual home of Professor Peake, and it may be said without the least hesitation that no other man has exercised so lasting an influence upon it. It was in the life and work of that church that his affection found expression in life-long devotion and service.

It must be remembered, however, that Professor Peake's greatest service was not merely to his own communion, but to the whole religious life of England and the English speaking peoples. He was endowed with a most catholic spirit, and was ever ready to lend his aid to any movement which had for its object the bringing of the Christian churches together, or the extension of Christ's Kingdom.

It is proposed that the memorial shall take the form of the Foundation of a Chair, bearing Dr. Peake's name, the holder of which would teach subjects related to Biblical scholarship, and thus carry on Dr. Peake's own ideals and life-work.

With this end in view the Committee express the hope that there will be a generous response to this appeal from ministers and laymen alike, so that the result may approximate to £10,000, and thus be worthy of the love and honour in which the name of Peake is held. Any sum that remains over after provision for the endowment of the Peake Chair has been made, will be reserved for rendering assistance to deserving students.

We desire to commend this appeal to the large number of students of the Bible, and members of other churches, who owe to Professor Peake a lasting debt of gratitude for the incalculable service which he rendered to Biblical scholarship. He made himself familiar with the facts which modern study in this and in other countries had brought to light, and made them accessible and palatable to the average Christian man or woman. He it was, as Professor Burkett in his touching tribute to him, which appeared in our last issue, remarked: "Who bridged the gap between the specialist view about the Bible and Bible religion and the views held by plain men and women, brought up on the old uncritical beliefs they had inherited from their parents. Without Peake's enlightened guidance the gap would have been much wider to-day."

Contribution to the Fund should be sent to the Treasurer: Alderman T. L. Gerrard, J.P., "Northfield," Swinton, Manchester.

RYLANDS PROFESSOR OF BIBLICAL EXEGESIS.

The Council of the University of Manchester have turned to Mansfield College, Oxford, to find a successor to Professor Peake in the Rylands Chair of Biblical Exegesis, by the appointment of the Reverend Charles Harold Dodd, M.A. (Oxon.), D.D. (Aberdeen), an appointment which will be warmly welcomed by the various theological colleges in and around Manchester.

Professor Dodd who, we learn, willl take up his duties in September, was a classical scholar of University College, Oxford, and continued his studies at Berlin. He was Senior Demy of Magdalen College, Oxford, from 1907-11, during which period he studied theology at Mansfield. Upon his ordination, in 1912, he became Minister of the Independent Congregational Church at Warwick, and in 1915 he was appointed Yates Lecturer in New Testament Greek and Exegesis in Mansfield College, where his predecessor in the Rylands Chair was also Tutor when he was called to Manchester. In 1927 Dr. Dodd became Lecturer in New Testament Studies, and Grinfield Lecturer on the Septuagint in the University of Oxford, and in 1929 he became Vice-Principal of Mansfield College. At the beginning of the present year Dr. Dodd was honoured by the University of Aberdeen by having conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity, "honoris causa."

His publications include: "The Meaning of Paul for to-day," 1920; "The Gospel in the New Testament," 1926; "The Authority of the Bible," 1928; and Ephesians, Colossians, and Philemon in the "Abingdon Commentary," 1929.

PROFESSOR OF COMPARATIVE RELIGION.

The Chair of Comparative Religion in the University of Manchester, which has been vacant since the lamented death of Professor J. N. Farquhar, has been filled by the appointment of the Reverend John Murphy, M.A., B.D., D.Litt., a Scottish Congregational Minister, who has won a high reputation in the field of comparative religion and anthropology. Dr. Murphy has also been appointed to succeed the Reverend Dr. Robert Mackintosh, as Professor of Ethics, Christian Sociology and Apologetics in Lancashire Independent College, who retires at the end of the present session, having held the tutorship with conspicuous distinction since 1894.

DISTINCTION FOR PROFESSOR ALEXANDER.

Manchester's principal interest in this year's Birthday Honours List was in the conferment of the Order of Merit on Professor Samuel Alexander, M.A., Litt.D., LL.D., D.Litt., which has been a source of pleasure and of pride to hosts of his old students, colleagues, and friends.

Professor Alexander was born in Sydney in January, 1859. He was educated at Wesley College, Melbourne, and Melbourne University, before proceeding to Balliol College, Oxford, in 1878, where he took a first-class in both classical and mathematical moderations in 1879, and a first-class in Greats in 1881. After taking his degree he was made a Fellow of Lincoln College, where he remained as tutor from 1881 to 1893. In 1888 he gained the Green Moral Philosophy Prize with an Essay on "Moral Order and Progress."

In 1893 Professor Alexander left Lincoln to succeed Professor Adamson at Owens College, where during his long association with Owens, which in 1893 became the University of Manchester, he has achieved international repute as one of the most original and distinguished of living philosophers, whose influence on philosophic thought it would be difficult to estimate.

For many years Professor Alexander has been entrusted with the duty of presenting candidates for honorary degrees at the University celebrations, and on such occasions he has never failed to captivate the audience by the dignity and beauty of his language, by his scintillating wit, and above all by the subtle charm of his manner as he presented candidate after candidate in terms which were at once felicitous and discriminating.

The Order of Merit, which is limited to twenty-four members, still holds its fascination as the supreme distinction for genius in the land ; and we offer our heartiest congratulations to Professor Alexander upon this signal and well-merited honour which has been conferred upon him, and which follows and crowns the recognition of his scholarship by many universities and learned societies.

In 1913 Professor Alexander was elected a Fellow of the British Academy ; in 1918 Hon. Fellow of Lincoln College ; in 1925 Hon. Fellow of Balliol ; and in 1924, upon his retirement from the Chair which he had held with such distinction since 1893, he was appointed Honorary Professor of Philosophy in the University of Manchester.

THE NEW POET-LAUREATE.

The appointment of Mr. John Masefield to be Poet-laureate in succession to Sir Robert Bridges has given intense pleasure to his numerous friends in Manchester. The University of Manchester was the first of the universities to acclaim Mr. Masefield's genius by conferring upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters, and we are glad to think that when the Prime Minister had to appoint a Poet-laureate he allowed the judgment of the University of Manchester to influence his choice.

A short note regarding the history of the office of "laureate" may not be out of place : The term "Poet-laureate" was sometimes applied both to one who earned the laurel wreath at one of the universities for rhetoric or versification in Latin, or to any poet of surpassing merit. Skelton as one of the former proudly styled himself "Poeta Skelton Laureatus" in the headings of his Latin poems. The term "laureate poete" was applied to Petrarch by Chaucer in the latter sense.

It is sometimes stated that Chaucer was the first "poet laureate," but although he received from Edward III. a pension and afterwards a daily pitcher of wine, one of the subsequent perquisites of the laureateship, he received no official appointment to the post, and his pension was for diplomatic and other services. By virtue of his pension, Ben Jonson came to be regarded as laureate, but the title, so far as is known, was never officially conferred on him, although he seems to have received a precarious pension, and the tierce of canary that is associated with the office. In 1638 Sir William D'Avenant received from Charles I. a pension of £100 a year, but no title accompanied the grant. He was, however, assumed to be laureate, especially, after the Restoration. So far as is known the first to receive the title of "poet laureate" by royal letters patent was John Dryden, in August, 1670. Dryden's successors and Mr. Masefield's predecessors with the terms of their office are: Thomas Shadwell (1689-1692), Nahum Tate (1692-1715), Nicholas Rowe (1715-1718), Laurence Eusden (1718-1730), Colley Cibber (1730-1757), William Whitehead (1758-1785), Thomas Warton (1785-1790), Henry James Pye (1790-1813), Robert Southey (1813-1843), William Wordsworth (1843-1850), Alfred Tennyson (1850-1892), Alfred Austin (1896-1913), Robert Bridges (1913-1930).

The salary or pension attached to the office is £100, and £27 commutation for the allowance of wine.

PUBLIC LECTURES.

The following is a preliminary list of public evening lectures (the twenty-ninth series), which have been arranged for delivery in the hall of the library, during the ensuing session.

Wednesday, 12th November, 1930. Shakespeare's Recoil from Romanticism." By H. B. Charlton, M.A., Professor of English Literature in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 10th December, 1930. "Subject of Lecture yet to be decided." By W. M. Calder, M.A., LL.D., Hulme Professor of Greek in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 14th January, 1931. "Some English Documents of the Concilior Movement." By Ernest F. Jacob, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Mediæval History in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 11th February, 1931. "Some Aspect of Egyptology yet to be decided." By Thomas Eric Peet, M.A., Brunner Professor of Egyptology in the University of Liverpool.

Wednesday, 18th March, 1931. "An hour with the greatest manuscript of Vergil's poems" (with lantern illustrations). By R. S.

Conway, Litt.D., D.Litt., Dott. Univ., F.B.A., Honorary Professor of Latin in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 15th April, 1931. "Pascal the Writer." By Samuel Alexander, O.M., M.A., Litt.D., LL.D., D.Litt., F.B.A., Honorary Professor of Philosophy in the University of Manchester.

ACCESSIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

The following titles represent a selection of the works which have been acquired for the library since the publication of our last issue in January. They are intended to serve as an indication of the character of the additions which are constantly being made to the various departments of literature.

ART AND ARCHITECTURE: ARS ASIATICA: "Peintures chinoises et japonaises de la Collection Ulrich Odin avec une introduction et notices de U. Odin," 4to; CHAMOT (M.), "English mediæval enamels," 53 Illus., 4to; CHARBONNEAUX (J.), "L'art Egéen," 4to; COOMARASWAMY (K.), "Catalogue of the Indian collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Part 6: Mughal paintings," 4to; DEONNA (W.), "Dédale ou la statue de la Grèce archaique," 4to; DUCATI (P.), "Storia dell' arte Etrusca," 253 plates, 2 vols., 4to; DURRIEU (P.), "Jacques de Besançon et son œuvre: un grand enlumineur au 15^e^ siècle," 8vo; DUTCH ART, "Commemorative Catalogue of the Exhibition of Dutch Art at Burlington House, 1929. Introduction by Sir C. Holmes," Folio; EBERSOLT (J.), "Orient et occident: recherches sur les influences Byzantines et Orientales en France pendant les Croisades," Illus., 4to; HEBRAICA: documents d'art Juif: orfèvrerie, peinture, préface de H. Guttmann," 4to; HOLMES (Sir C.), "An introduction to Italian painting," 8vo; MICHEL (A.), "Histoire de l'art depuis les premiers temps chrétiens . . . tome 8: L'art en Europe et en Amérique, 19^{e} et 20^{e} siècles," 8vo; MILLAR (E. G.), "La miniature anglaise du 14^{e} et du 15^{e} siècle," 4to; OMONT (H.), "Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale du 6^{e} au 14^{e} siècle," Folio. RACKHAM (B.), "Catalogue of English porcelain, earthen ware, etc., collected by Charles and Lady Schreiber in the Victoria and Albert Museum," 3 vols., 8vo; SCHNEIDER (R.), "La peinture Italienne des origines au 16^{e} siècle," 8vo; VENTURI (A.), "Storia dell' arte Italiana, tome 9: La pittura del cinquecento," 8vo; WHINNEY (M. D.), "The inter-relation of the fine arts in England in the early middle ages," 8vo.

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND PALÆOGRAPHY: BONARD (A. de), "Manuel de diplomatique française et pontificale, I: Diplomatique générale," 2 vols., 8vo and 4to; CARLO (A. M.), "Paleografia Española: essays de una historia de la escritura en España desde el siglo 8 al 17," 2 vols., 8vo; COYECQUE (E.), "Code administratif des bibliothèques d'étude," 2 vols., 8vo; HESSE (R.), "Histoire des sociétés de bibliophiles en France de 1820 à 1920, I: Les societes parisiennes d'avant-guerre," 8vo; LACHÈVRE (F.), "Bibliographie sommaire des Keepsakes et autres recueils collectif de la période romantique, 1828-1848," 2 vols., 8vo; LONGCHAMP (F. C.), "Therapeutica graphica, ou l'art de collectioner, de conserver, et de restaurer les dessins, les manuscrits, les estampes, et les livres," 8vo; MAGNE (E.), "Bibliographie générale des œuvres de Boileau-Despréaux et de Gilles et Jacques Boileau," 2 vols., 8vo; MONGLOND (A.), "La France revolutionnaire et impériale: annales de bibliographie méthodique et description des livres illustrés, tome I: 1789-1790," 8vo; OHLY (K.), "Stichometrische Untersuchungen," 8vo; PETZET (E.), und GLAUNIG (O.), "Deutsche Schrifttafeln aus Papierhandschriften des 14 bis 16 Jahrhunderts," Folio; SCHRAMM (Max), "Der Bilderschmuck der Frühdrucke, Band 12: Die Drucker in Lübeck und Magdeburg," 4to; SCHREIBER (H.), "Die Bibliothek der ehemaligen Mainzer Karthause: die Handschriften und ihre Geschichte," 8vo; SCHREIBER (W. L.), "Handbuch der Holz und Metalschnitte des 15 Jahrhunderts, Band 5," 4to; "SOCIEDAD ESPAÑOLA de amigos del arte: exposicione de codices miniados Españoles: catalogo pro J. D. Bordona," 150 plates, Folio; VOSTE (J.), "Catalogue de la Bibliothèque Syro-Chaldéenne du Couvent de Notre Dame des Semences, près d'Algos," 8vo.

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THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL
A NEW DOCUMENT.

By A. MINGANA, D.D.,

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IN the course of cataloguing the Syriac manuscripts of my collection I lately came across some rather remarkable statements dealing with the authorship of the fourth Gospel. These statements are found in Mingana Syriac 540 which contains the Peshiṭta New Testament of the East Syrian or Nestorian Church. The manuscript is relatively modern as it is dated Saturday, 23rd September, of the year 2060 of the Greeks (A.D. 1749), but it is a faithful copy of a much older original, which may be ascribed to about A.D. 750. I have arrived at this conclusion from the nature and the character of the Massoretic signs that the copyist is reproducing in his transcription. Nothing further need be said of the text, as readers can examine it for themselves in the facsimiles attached to the present short article.

On fol. 100ª, before the Gospel of John, occurs the following statement : " The holy Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ (according to) the preaching of John *the younger*."

And at the end of the Gospel itself (fol. 129ª) is the following colophon : " Here ends the writing of the holy Gospel (according to) the preaching of John who spoke in Greek in Bithynia."

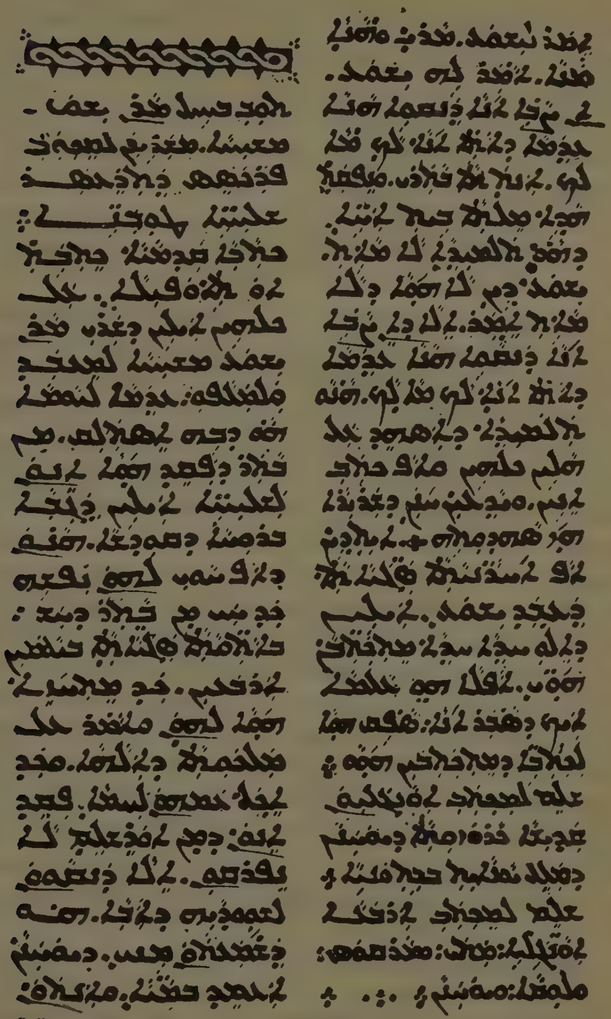
These two statements are certainly remarkable in that they deviate considerably from a constant tradition of the Church known to every historian, to the effect : (*a*) that the Apostle John wrote his Gospel at Ephesus and not in Bithynia, (*b*) that the fourth Gospel was written by John the Apostle himself after the other three evangelists, called the Synoptists, had composed theirs, and not by a John called the *younger*, a term which evidently implies that there was also another John, who by hypothesis would be John the *elder*.

It is useful here to add that to my knowledge the above statements

ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܢ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܟܕ ܗܘ ܡܚܠܛܐ [illegible] ܐܪܒܥܐ.

ܒܪܫܝܬ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ ܡܠܬܐ. ܘܗܘ ܡܠܬܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ ܠܘܬ ܐܠܗܐ. ܘܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ ܗܘ ܡܠܬܐ. ܗܢܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ ܒܪܫܝܬ ܠܘܬ ܐܠܗܐ. ܟܠ ܒܐܝܕܗ ܗܘܐ. ܘܒܠܥܕܘܗܝ ܐܦܠܐ ܚܕܐ ܗܘܬ ܡܕܡ ܕܗܘܐ. ܒܗ ܚܝܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܚܝܐ ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ ܢܘܗܪܐ ܕܒܢܝܢܫܐ. ܘܗܘ ܢܘܗܪܐ ܒܚܫܘܟܐ ܡܢܗܪ. ܘܚܫܘܟܐ ܠܐ ܐܕܪܟܗ ⁘ ܗܘܐ ܓܒܪܐ ܕܐܫܬܠܚ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ. ܫܡܗ ܝܘܚܢܢ. ܗܢܐ ܐܬܐ ܠܣܗܕܘܬܐ ܕܢܣܗܕ ܥܠ ܢܘܗܪܐ. ܕܟܠܢܫ ܢܗܝܡܢ ܒܐܝܕܗ. ܠܐ ܗܘ ܗܘܐ ܢܘܗܪܐ. ܐܠܐ ܕܢܣܗܕ ܥܠ ܢܘܗܪܐ. ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ ܓܝܪ ܢܘܗܪܐ ܕܫܪܪܐ: ܕܡܢܗܪ ܠܟܠܢܫ. ܕܐܬܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ. ܒܥܠܡܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܥܠܡܐ ܒܐܝܕܗ ܗܘܐ. ܘܥܠܡܐ ܠܐ ܝܕܥܗ. ܠܕܝܠܗ ܐܬܐ. ܘܕܝܠܗ ܠܐ ܩܒܠܘܗܝ. ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܕܩܒܠܘܗܝ. ܝܗܒ ܠܗܘܢ ܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܕܒܢܝܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܢܗܘܘܢ. ܠܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܡܗܝܡܢܝܢ ܒܫܡܗ. ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܠܘ ܡܢ ܕܡܐ. ܘܠܐ ܡܢ ܨܒܝܢܐ ܕܒܣܪܐ. ܘܠܐ ܡܢ ܨܒܝܢܐ ܕܓܒܪܐ. ܐܠܐ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܬܝܠܕܘ. ܘܡܠܬܐ ܒܣܪܐ ܗܘܐ ܘܐܓܢ ܒܢ. ܘܚܙܝܢ ܫܘܒܚܗ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܝܚܝܕܝܐ ܕܡܢ ܐܒܐ: ܕܡܠܐ ܛܝܒܘܬܐ ܘܩܘܫܬܐ ✠

ܝܘܚܢܢ ܐܣܗܕ ܥܠܘܗܝ ܘܩܥܐ ܘܐܡܪ. ܗܢܘ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪܬ ܕܐܬܐ ܒܬܪܝ ܘܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܩܕܡܝ. ܡܛܠ ܕܩܕܡܝ ܗܘܐ. ܘܡܢ ܡܠܝܘܬܗ ܚܢܢ ܟܠܢ ܢܣܒܢ. ܛܝܒܘܬܐ ܚܠܦ ܛܝܒܘܬܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܢܡܘܣܐ ܒܝܕ ܡܘܫܐ ܐܬܝܗܒ. ܩܘܫܬܐ ܕܝܢ ܛܝܒܘܬܐ ܒܝܕ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܗܘܬ. ܐܠܗܐ ܠܐ ܚܙܐ ܐܢܫ ܡܢ ܡܬܘܡ. ܝܚܝܕܝܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ



are not found in any other Syriac manuscript of the Gospels. This is true in the case of the MSS. preserved in the British Museum (Wright's catalogue), in the Vatican (Assemani's catalogue), in Cambridge (Wright's and Cook's catalogue), in Paris (Zotenberg's catalogue), and in many other Gospel MSS. of my own collection.[1] Indeed the colophons of all these MSS. definitely state: "Here ends the Gospel of John who spoke in Greek at Ephesus" and never "in Bithynia."

Before proceeding further, I will set forth here a third document, the text of which is given below, because it has some bearing on the matter under discussion:

At the end of the same MS. is a treatise definitely attributed by the scribe to Eusebius of Cæsarea, which contains a short historical account of each of the twelve Apostles and the seventy Disciples of our Lord.[2] The wording of the document is in two places slightly ambiguous but the general meaning of its sentences may be considered as certain. In the section devoted to John the evangelist (ff. 267^b-268^a) it states that after he had preached in Asia he was banished by Tiberius to the island of Patmos[3] whence, eventually, he went to Ephesus, whither he was followed by three of his disciples: (*a*) Ignatius, who afterwards became bishop of Antioch and was martyred in Rome by having been thrown before wild beasts; (*b*) Polycarp, who became later bishop of Smyrna and obtained the crown of martyrdom by fire; (*c*) John to whom the Apostle John granted priesthood and the episcopal See after him. When the Apostle John reached old age he died and was buried by his disciple John who succeeded the Apostle in the See of Ephesus. The tombs of both John the Apostle and John his disciple are at Ephesus[4] but that of the former is hidden, "and it is John the disciple who wrote the Revelations, as he states that he heard all that he wrote from the mouth of John the evangelist."

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[1] I must state, however, that a considerable number of the MSS. of my collection are not yet catalogued.

[2] This treatise is found in some other MSS. of my collection attributed to the same Eusebius.

[3] Tradition is to the effect that he was banished under the reign of Domitian.

[4] The first author who mentions two tombs of two Johns at Ephesus seems to be Dionysius of Alexandria in Eusebius' *Eccl. Hist.*, vii. 25.

ܝܘܚܢܢ ܐܘܢܓܠܣܛܐ. ܐܦ ܗܘ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܨܝܕܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ
ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܙܒܘܠܘܢ ܗܢܐ ܐܟܪܙ ܒܐܣܝܐ ܠܩܘܕܡ ܡܟܬܘܪܝ
ܐܫܬܕܝ ܠܐܟܣܘܪܝܐ ܠܦܛܡܘܣ ܓܙܪܬܐ ܡܢ ܛܪܘܢܘܣ ܩܣܪ
ܘܗܝܕܝܢ ܥܠ ܠܐܦܣܘܣ ܡܚܝܐ ܒܪ ܒܕܐ. ܟܠܗ ܕܝܢ ܒܡܕܗ
ܠܚܠܐ ܠܡܬܒܪܐ ܘܐܡܢ ܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ. ܐܢܛܝܡܘܣ ܗܘ ܕܗܘܐ
ܒܬܪܗ ܐܦܝܣܩܘܦܐ ܒܐܬܡܟܐ ܘܐܫܬܕܝ ܠܚܢܘܬܐ ܒܪܗܘܡܐ.
ܦܘܠܝܩܪܦܘܣ ܗܘ ܕܗܘܐ ܒܬܪܗ ܐܦܝܣܩܘܦܐ ܒܣܡܘܪܢܐ ܘܐܬܟܠܠ
ܒܢܘܪܐ. ܝܘܚܢܢ ܗܘ ܕܠܗ ܐܬܓܠܝ ܚܙܘܢܐ ܘܡܘܗܒܬܐ ܕܐܦܝܣܩܘܦܘܬܐ
ܒܐܬܪܗ. ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܟܕ ܛܠܝܐ ܢܗܝܪܐ ܚܝܐ ܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ܒܐܦܣܘܣ
ܒܫܡܗ ܕܝܢ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܠܬܠܡܝܕܗ ܕܐܘܢܓܠܣܛܐ ܗܘ ܕܗܘܐ ܐܦܝܣܩܘܦܐ
ܒܐܦܣܘܣ . . . ܘܐܡܪܝܢ ܩܒܪܝܢ ܕܬܪܝܗܘܢ ܐܝܬ ܒܐܦܣܘܣ ܚܕ
ܡܬܚܡܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܕܐܘܢܓܠܣܛܐ ܘܐܚܪܢܐ ܕܝܘܚܢܢ ܠܬܠܡܝܕܗ ܕܗܘ
ܐܟܠܐ ܥܠܝܬܐ ܐܡܪ ܢܣܒ ܕܡܢ ܦܘܡܗ ܕܐܘܢܓܠܣܛܐ ܫܡܥ
ܟܬܒܗ ܕܟܠܗ.

According to this document there are, therefore, two Johns: John the apostle and John his disciple who wrote the "Revelations." It does not, however, like the previous one, attribute the authorship of the fourth Gospel to John "the younger," but we may infer in the absence of a third John, that the epithet "the younger" applied to the John mentioned in the previous document may be somewhat explained by the hypothesis that it designates "the younger John" the pupil of "the elder John," who in this case would be the Apostle himself. However that may be, is it not possible to believe that the word "evangelist" used here after the name of John does not imply definitely that he actually wrote the Gospel, but only alludes to the mere fact that he was the John under whose name the fourth Gospel was, in the popular belief, written?

We may further conjecture that the MS. being of East Syrian origin the word "Revelations" used in it may not refer to the Apocalypse or the canonical Book of the Revelation, as this Book is generally excluded from the Canon of the East Syrian Church. I personally believe that this word would in the mouth of a writer from

Syria designate any Scriptural matter held to be revealed or inspired by God.

A word should here be added as to whether the above two statements may not be due to the fancy of the copyist. I believe that such an hypothesis would be very improbable for many reasons, of which the following will suffice: (*a*) We may take it for certain that the copyist knew nothing of "Bithynia" and had not even heard its name. (*b*) This copyist is the well-known scribe of the Homo family of the village of Alḳosh, from whose pen we have many other MSS. (not Biblical) in East and West, and all of them testify to the painstaking care and exactness which he undoubtedly possessed. Indeed he is one of the most conscientious scribes of Syriac literature.

Finally, it is improbable that the epithet "the younger" denotes the Apostle John on the ground that he was the youngest of the Apostles. John has never been referred to in this way in Syriac literature; on the contrary tradition having given him an old age at the time of his writing his Gospel, the expression "the elder" would be more fitting in his case than that of "the younger."

Of course the expression *presbyter* "the elder" as applied to John, either the evangelist or some other, is not a new one. The second and third Epistles of John begin with the words "*the elder* unto the elect lady and her children" and "*the elder* unto the well-beloved Gaius." The most explicit mention made of John "the elder," however, is by Papias:[1] "When any one who had been a follower of the elders came, I questioned him concerning the words of the elders: what Andrew or what Peter said, or what was said by Philip or Thomas, or John or Mathew, or any other of the disciples of the Lord, and also concerning the things that Ariston and the *elder John*, the discipes of the Lord, say."

A well-known hypothesis of Harnack is to the effect that the fourth Gospel is to be attributed to John the elder, a disciple of the Apostles, who has embodied in his work some words of his master so that it might rightly be called "the Gospel of John the elder according to John, son of Zebedee."

It is useless here to go over all the literature of the Johannine writings, of which the reader can find a good summary in Hasting's

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[1] Eusebius' *Eccl. Hist.*, iii. 39.

Dictionary of the Bible and the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, but we may assert that as a net result of our new documents:

(*a*) Papias' statement regarding the existence of a disciple John can now be considered to be possibly correct.

(*b*) Harnack's hypothesis concerning the composition of the fourth Gospel by a disciple of the Apostle has for the first time received documentary support which we are not at liberty to discount.

(*c*) The tradition regarding the composition of the fourth Gospel at Ephesus is now for the first time challenged by documentary evidence, and the possibility that it was composed in Bithynia has to be considered.

Many more suggestions naturally arise out of the present documents but we must content ourselves with their publication, and leave any further conclusions that may be drawn from them to future students. I feel confident that they will repay further investigation as they appear to me to represent a relic of an ancient tradition. This remark applies exclusively to the first two statements and not to the last document attributed to Eusebius, which is in a totally different category.

ROMANTICISM IN SHAKESPEARIAN COMEDY.[1]

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IT is a common place of criticism to label Shakespeare's comedies romantic comedies. What else should one call comedies which are set in Illyria or in forests of Arden, and through which Violas and Orsinos, Rosalinds and Orlandos fleet the time to such music as is the food of love? And what is a fantasia like *The Midsummer Night's Dream* but the very ecstasy of romanticism? So the epithet goes unquestioned. It not only seems to fit the quality of Shakespeare's comedies; it catches in a word the prevailing atmosphere of Elizabethan literature at large. And for what concerns comedy in particular, it has an additional recommendation. Being named "romantic comedies," Shakespeare's can be easily and conveniently distinguished from the counterblasts with which, in the name of the classical comedians, Ben Jonson retaliated on them. Why not, therefore, let well alone, and continue to talk of Shakespeare's romantic comedies, especially as "romantic" is so variable and vague in its connotation that it can be used to mean almost anything which anybody may take Shakespeare's comedies to be.

Moreover, there can hardly be any doubt that Shakespeare's audience clamorously demanded that their comedies should include certain features which in any sense of the word must be called romantic, features which enter comedy for the first time in Shakespeare's day, features which more than any others bear the stamp of the imaginative and emotional fashion of his generation.

His *Comedy of Errors* provides an excellent clue to the taste of his times. He took the main tale of it from Latin comedy, from

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[1] A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 8th January, 1930.

Plautus. But he made strange additions. His Plautine material is in the boisterous, gross, realistic pattern of Latin comedy: a virago of a wife, a thick-skinned husband, and a common courtesan deal with each other in the coarser way of earthy trafficking. But into this Hogarthian group Shakespeare slips one or two figures who belong to another world: an old man weighed down by the grief of many years' fruitless search for the wife and son torn from him by shipwreck, and a gentle-hearted girl whose lips speak in the sweet new style singers and sonneteers were consecrating to lovers and to love-making.

Such incongruously intrusive figures can only have gained their entry by being the sort of people Shakespeare's public wanted. They surround a Dutch interior with a tale of love and of adventure; and what is a romance but a tale of love and adventure, of prouesse and courtesie? That is the justification for calling the Elizabethan age a romantic age. Shakespeare and his fellows were romantic in the strict sense that they clamoured for fuller draughts of that spirit of romanticism which the Middle Ages had first discovered and revealed in their tales of chivalry and knight-errantry. To them, a lover and his lass were the most engrossing of God's creatures: their comedies as Jonson contemptuously said, had to be of a duke in love with a countess, the countess to be in love with the duke's son, and the son to love the lady's waiting-maid, with other such cross-wooing. For wooing was the most exciting of man's emotional experiences; and tuned to that key he eagerly responded to those other phases of existence wherein the stress of exceptional circumstances aroused stranger stirrings of the passionate life. The plot of the *Comedy of Errors* is Roman, classical, realistic; but old Ægeon and fair Luciana are the offspring of an un-Roman, unclassical and unrealistic sentiment: they are the outcome of romance. Of the two, Luciana is the more significant.

Romantic comedy is pre-eminently the comedy of love. It is its specific occupation with wooing which distinguishes it most markedly from classical or Roman comedy. And although between a fully grown romantic comedy such as *As You Like It*, and a Roman comedy such as the *Menæchmi* of Plautus, there may appear to be the widest difference in matter and in spirit, the one has in fact grown out of the other by a gradual modification of the current view of the way of a man with a maid. Classical dramatists dealt freely with amorous intrigues between young men and girls; but solicitation is a social institution, whereas wooing is a mystical experience. The Romans treated such situations as mere incidents in the usual sowing of wild oats, which was by no means a bad training for a young fellow about to enter the world at large. Their real concern was with the older men who had already taken rank in that world. When modern comedy started in Italy at the beginning of the sixteenth century, its founders eagerly imitated classical models. But in the intervening sixteen hundred years, man and his universe had moved. He had been initiated into notions of chivalry. Italian audiences in 1500 were descended from knights who had given their lives to courtesy and to high endeavour. Dante had transmuted womankind for them. He had opened their eyes to the image of woman whose coming is as from heaven to reveal a miracle, and at the sound of whose voice the heart is filled with all of sweetness and humility:—

E par che sia una cosa venuta
Di cielo in terra a miracol mostrare. . . .

Ogni dolcezza, ogni pensiero umile
Nasce nel core a chi parlar la sente.

Merely to see her is to add to one's spiritual stature a new susceptibility, an "intelligenza nuova." By the simple glance of her eye mankind is lifted to a finer civilisation: "empiendo il core a ciascun di virtute." Perhaps such a transcendent "intellect of love" was too ideal for the sense of the bulk of men. But Petrarch had made the miracle manifest on earth. He had clothed the new soul of woman in the human beauty of woman's body:—

ogni virtute
Ogni bellezza, ogni real costume
Giunti in un corpo a mirabil tempre—

and had made her earthly existence more intimate by turning from the idea she symbolised in heaven to lament the heaviness of life when the transfiguring angel of it departs, leaving her lover a desolate and solitary voyager on the dreary waves of time.

With these new sensations pulsing in their blood, Italy's audiences in the sixteenth century were much more thrilled by youth than by age, and youth in love was its most alluring theme. Its comic writers might set themselves to imitate Roman drama as closely as possible;

but without knowing it, they could not escape dallying with the young folks of the play far more than Roman precedent warranted. At the very outset of the new comedy, for his *Calandria*, Bibbiena borrows largely from the self-same play of Plautus from which Shakespeare was to borrow for his *Comedy of Errors*. But Bibbiena, taking his twins from Plautus, transforms one of them into a woman, as the later Shakespeare was to do for his *Twelfth Night*. And in Ariosto's comedies, the young gradually supersede the old, until the old man, who stood in the middle limelight of Roman comedy, is pushed into the wings of the stage to make room for the youthful lovers whose Roman prototypes were but accessory figures. The plot of his *Cassaria* is a typically classical plot, except that the old man has at the beginning embarked on a journey which keeps him out of the play until almost the end of it. There is still, of course, as there must be in any play for an audience of Boccaccio's countrymen, much of the bawdy side of love: but the object of exhibiting it is, nominally at all events, to expose it to the flick of satire, whilst in Roman comedy it enters more or less as a natural escapade of the admirable young spark. Moreover, Ariosto's last comedy, the *Scolastica*, not only ties its interest down to the love of its youths for its maidens; it even gives to that love something of the quality of romantic devotion. Without intention, and as yet, without much change in outward form, classical comedy is moving gradually to romantic comedy, and is taking to itself a situation and a temper which in due course will transform the type to the sort which characterises romantic comedy. The transition is not so clearly discernible in the work of the English comic dramatists of the sixteenth century. For one thing, classical comedy never fastened itself so securely on to our stage as it did in Italy: and when our Elizabethan comedy was being forged, our romantic temper was urgent and largely conscious of itself. Yet something of the transitional process may be seen in the plays of John Lyly: and its main stages stand out clear as signposts in the two plots which together make *The Taming of a Shrew*. But in the main, Elizabethan romantic comedy did not emerge through a process of natural evolution: it was the product of an obligation imposed ruthlessly on the dramatists by their own age. They were required to beat out a play which should be comic and romantic at once; and at first, they scarcely realised that the task involved almost insuperable difficulties. It seemed a simple matter merely to lift the romances bodily on to the comic stage: the whole history of Elizabethan comedy is a tale of the reluctance of comedy to compromise itself with romance. Not realising his difficulties, Shakespeare sat down light-heartedly to write a romantic comedy, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*. Before he had finished, he had encountered and had blundered through unexpected obstacles.

To realise what they were and to appreciate the reluctance of romantic material to be naturalised on the comic stage will involve us in a closer examination of romantic taste and of its primary cause, the romances of the Middle Ages. Romantic taste will not tolerate any sort of love-story. Mediæval romances are love-stories, and something besides. Not only are they stories of a particular kind of love; they also incorporate a larger tradition which moulds the quality of every element in their material. The range of their incidents, the temper of their sentiments, the pattern of their heroes, the atmosphere of their scenery, and the trend of their ideas, each and all contribute to the homogeneity of the tradition. And in the making of the tradition, life and literature had played complementary parts. The romances reflect the ideal of knighthood by their imaginative idealisation of the experience of knights.

What chivalry is in morals and feudalism in politics, so are the romances in literature. They are the artistic counterpart of the moral and political society which produced them. Socially, one thinks of the Middle Ages as a feudal edifice. Feudalism built itself on an ascending scale of suzerainities. Its elaborate distinctions of precedence created colleges of heralds and a code of social etiquette, as well as a Round Table compromise. But politically and socially speaking, such a system was fragile as a castle of cards, capable of destruction by mere exposure to the winds of heaven, unless cemented by the strongest of moral and sentimental ties. And the only moral tie which could hold the fabric erect was the sense of loyalty. So, out of mere political necessity in the first place, loyalty is the virtue above all other virtues in the mediæval knight's equipment; to be false to a plighted oath is first in the catalogue of a recreant's sins. As in the life of the body politic, so in the communion of the Catholic Church. The representative of God on earth called for absolute obedience, and religion consecrated loyalty. Life's highest ideal was unswerving devotion to an all-exacting service, the quest of a holy grail. Inevitably these public ideals were closely reflected in those phases of man's life which come most intimately to his hearth. His private and domestic existence was governed by a code of conduct in the same range of values. Like his worship of God and his faith to his suzerain was the love of his lady. It called for a dedicated life. And as it was the article of his faith which lay closest to his bosom, his love of woman tended to loom more largely in his consciousness than did the less peculiar elements of his creed. Love became the corner stone of the whole fabric of chivalry. The *chansons de gestes* passed into the romances of a Chretien de Troyes: and in them, the love of woman was the cause and not the consequence of devotion to God and to king.

Qui fist Lancelot et Artus
En armes si aventureux,
Tristan, Percheval et Pontus,
Sinon qu'ilz furent amoureux?

But, theoretically, it was love more like Dante's for Beatrice than Petrarch's for Laura. The pattern knight was he whose days were solemnly devoted to unselfish service for his church, his country, or his love. He was vowed to absolute renunciation of all merely personal desire in the pursuit of his hazardous quest. The superhuman exaltation of the ideal transfigured every circumstance connected with it. The love of woman was a state of mystic adoration removed entirely from the attractions of the flesh. The worshipper was a Sir Galahad, a maiden knight to whom is given such hope he knows not fear, whose strength is as the strength of ten because his heart is pure. A love like this has become a ritual, and expresses itself in social behaviour with an elaborate etiquette of courtesy in word and deed. Mediæval romance depicts an ideal world of which each element is occasioned by the ideal of chivalry. It is a world of prouesse and courtesie. Its heroes are without fear and without reproach. They are initiated in courtly forms of service in the lady's bower, until with manhood they lay their heart before the lady of their choice, and from thenceforward their lives are dedicated to proofs of their worthiness by facing unprecedented trials and overcoming incredible obstacles in the uttermost parts of the earth. That is why the mediæval love-story is perforce a story of adventure. Its wooing follows elaborately prescribed formalities, and its quests penetrate strange remote regions.

where deeds of unexampled valour are called forth by the attacks of terrifying monsters more horrible than the eye of man has seen.

Turn, for instance, to the tale of Owein and Lunet. "Having," says Cynon, "conquered in all deeds of valour those who were in the same country as myself, I equipped me and travelled through the uttermost parts of the earth and its wildernesses." Amongst his adventures, he is told that he will meet "a large black man on the top of a tumulus, who is in no way smaller than two of the men of this world." When, in fact, he meets the man, even expectation is outdone: "I had been told he was huge; much larger was he than that; and his iron staff which it had been said to me was a burden for two men, it was clear to me was a burden for four warriors"—Falstaff's romancing about men in Lincoln green scarcely outdoes the original romances themselves. Of course there was variety in the haps of knight-errantry. Not always was it a black man who crossed one's path. Owein, at one point of his journey, finds himself in the presence of maidens sewing brocaded silk in golden chairs, and more marvellous by far was their fairness and beauty than what Owein had been told. At such a revelation, every true man "must burn with love until every part of him is filled." One is reminded of the solemn injunction laid on Peredur: "Should you see a fair woman, woo her, even if she desires you not; she will make you, for that reason, a better man and a more flourishing leader." These are examples from the *Mabinogion*, that is, from the body of romance before it had been fully romanticised. But for that very reason, they display even more clearly the elements which are indigenous to romance. In the full elaboration to which they were to grow, everything—incident, figure, atmosphere, and sentiment—shapes itself to play its part naturally in the whole substance. Comprehensively, these elements provide a universe in which the code of chivalry as a moral and as a social ideal can exemplify itself most significantly. No doubt in the historic origins of romance, the material adventures provide the main if not the entire interest: the *chansons de gestes* precede the romances. But the prevailing current of ideals infused itself slowly through the corporal matter, until the whole of it became the visible incorporation of the spirit and the temper of the mediæval world. And at the moment of its highest attainment, the soul of it was indubitably its characteristic sense of the meaning of woman and of love.

In its first intention, Elizabethan romantic comedy was an attempt to adapt the world of romance and all its implications to the service of comedy. *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* shows that intention at its crudest. In the story of it, there are all the main marks of the mediæval tradition as that tradition had been modified, elaborated and extended by the idealism of Petrarch and by the speculations of the Platonists. It is yet the same tradition in its essence, corroborated rather than altered by the modifying factors ; as, for instance, at the hands of Ficino, Platonism brought a medico-metaphysical theory to explain the love-laden gleam of a beautiful eye. Shakespeare's play embodies a literary manner and a moral code ; its actions are conducted according to a conventional etiquette and are determined by a particular creed ; and every feature of it, in matter and in sentiment, is traceable to the romantic attitude of man to woman. It presents as its setting a world constituted in such fashion that the obligations and the sanctions of its doctrines could best be realised. The course of the whole play is determined by the values such doctrine attaches to the love of man and woman.

A note struck early in the play recalls one of the few passionate love-stories of classical legend—"how young Leander crossed the Hellespont,"—and at another moment, Ariadne is remembered "passioning for Theseus' perjury." But the real colour of the tale is given unmistakably by the presence amongst its characters of Sir Eglamour. By his name is he known and whence he springs. He points straight back to the source of the religious cult of love : "servant and friend" of Sylvia, he is ready at call to rush to any service to which she may command him. His own lady and his true love died, and on her grave he vowed pure chastity, dedicating himself to the assistance of lovers in affliction, recking nothing what danger should betide him in the venture. His home is in the land of mediæval romance ; and his brethren are those consecrated warriors who will undertake all danger, though it stands next to death, for one calm look of Love's approval. He comes to life again in a play where knightly vows are spoken, where errantry is the normal mode of service, where the exercise of tilt and tournament is the traditional recreation, where lovers name themselves habitually the servants of their ladies, where such service may impose as a duty the helping of one's lady to a rival, and where the terms of infamy to which the utmost slander can give voice are "perjured, false, disloyal." And that is the world in which Shakespeare makes his Two Gentlemen live.

Throughout the play, "Love's a mighty lord,"

> There is no woe to his correction
> Nor to his service no such joy on earth.

This is the state of the lover as the old *Romaunt of the Rose* had depicted it :

> The sore of love is merveilous,
> For now is the lover joyous,
> Now can he pleyne, now can he grone,
> Now can he syngen, now maken mone ;
> To day he pleyneth for hevynesse,
> To morowe he pleyeth for jolynesse.
> The lyf of love is full contrarie,
> Which stounde-mele can ofte varie.

Heavy penance is visited on unbelievers

> for contemning Love,
> Whose high imperious thoughts will punish him
> With bitter fasts, with penitential groans,
> With nightly tears and daily heart-sore sighs.

Sleep is chased from such a rebel's now enthralled eyes, to make them watchers of his own heart's sorrow. From true votaries, nothing less than absolute devotion is required. They must hold no discourse except it be of love. Absent from their lady, they must let no single hour o'erslip without its ceremonial sigh for her sake. The more such languishing fidelity appears to be spurned, the more must it grow and fawn upon its recalcitrant object. Apart from love, nothing in life has the least significance :

> banished from her,
> Is self from self, a deadly banishment.
> What light is light, if Sylvia be not seen?
> What joy is joy, if Sylvia be not by?
> Except I be by Sylvia in the night,
> There is no music in the nightingale.
> Unless I look on Sylvia in the day,
> There is no day for me to look upon.
> She is my essence, and I leave to be,
> If I am not by her fair influence
> Fostered, illumined, cherished, kept alive.

Such is the consecrated desolation of the romantic lover: the mediæval sense of a world emptied of its content persists through romantic poetry and is the undertone of the Renaissance sonneteers' woe. Bembo puts it not unlike Valentine in the play:

Tu m'hai lasciato senza sole i giorni,
Le notte senza stelle, e grave e egro
Tutto questo, ond'io parlo, ond'io repiro:
La terra scossa, e'l ciel turbato e negro;
Et pien di mille oltraggi e mille scorni
Me sembra ogni parte, quant'io miro.
Valor e cortesia si dipartiro
Nel tuo partire; e'l mondo infermo giacque;
Et virtu spense i suoi chiari lumi;
Et le fontane a i fiumi
Nega la vena antica e l'usate acque:
Et gli augelletti abandonaro il canto,
Et l'herbe e i fior lasciar nude le piaggie,
Ne piu di fronde il bosco si consperse.

But the lover has ample recompense for his sorrow. Setting the world at nought, he gains a heaven in its stead:

she is mine own,
And I as rich in having such a jewel
As twenty seas if all their sand were pearl,
The water nectar, and the rocks pure gold.

Inevitably, a creed of such ardent devotion has its appropriate liturgy. Stuffed with protestation, and full of new-found oaths, the lover utters his fears in wailful sonnets, whose composed rhymes are fully fraught with serviceable vows:

. . . and on the altar of her beauty
You sacrifice your tears, your sighs, your heart:
Write till your ink be dry, and with your tears
Moist it again, and frame some feeling line
That may discover such integrity:
For Orpheus' lute was strung with poets' sinews,
Whose golden touch could soften steel and stones,
Make tigers tame, and huge leviathans
Forsake unsounded deeps to dance on sands.
After your dire-lamenting elegies,
Visit by night your lady's chamber window
With some sweet concert; to their instruments
Tune a deploring dump: the night's dead silence
Will well become such sweet-complaining grievance.
This, or else nothing, will inherit her.

With oceans of tears, and twenty thousand soul-confirming oaths, the lover excites himself to a fervid bacchanalian orgy, and in his braggardism proclaims his lady "sovereign to all the creatures on the earth," threatening destruction to all who will not at once subscribe, and extermination to any who but dare to breathe upon her. In the intervals of these ecstatic outbursts, the lover stands before the picture of his love, sighing and weeping, wreathing his arms like a malcontent, until at length he walks off alone like one that hath the pestilence.

When cruel circumstance separates him from his lady, etiquette prescribes the proper behaviour and the right demeanour. He resorts to the congenial solitude of woods or wildernesses. In the earlier days of the cult, his manner on these occasions was more violent than ceremonious. Tristan, as Malory tells us, exiled and separated from his love, goes mad for grief; he would unlace his armour and go into the wilderness, where he "brast down the trees and bowes, and otherwhyle, when he found the harp that the lady sent him, then wold he harpe and playe therupon and wepe togethre." But in the course of time the manners of solitaries became more polite. Chaucer (or the author of the *Romaunt of the Rose*) advises the lover to cultivate a proper solitude:

For ofte, whan thou bithenkist thee
Of thy lovyng, where so thou be,
Fro folk thou must departe in hie,
That noon perceyve thi maladie.
But hyde thyne harme thou must alone,
And go forthe sole, and make thy mone.

It is only one more stage to the final artistic decorum of the habit. The lover in the French romance *Flamenca* "in the dark of night goes of custom to listen to the nightingale in the wood." Just, in fact, as does Valentine: in the intervals between inspecting the arms or allocating the booty of his bandit-band, he takes his laments for Sylvia into the woods for orchestral effects from the nightingales:

These shadowy, desert, unfrequented woods
I better brook than flourishing peopled towns:
Here can I sit alone, unseen of any,
And to the nightingale's complaining notes
Tune my distresses and record my woes.

Such is the way of lovers in romances, and in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*. Their state of spiritual ecstasy is revealed by the progressive ætherialisation of their sustenance. A collection of the menus of romantic feasts is more than a gastronomic document. In the beginnings of romance, eating and drinking was a major occupation. Owein ate and drank "whilst it was late in the time of the nones"; and once he was bidden to a feast which took three months to consume and had taken three years to prepare. But later, the initiate have so far purged their mortal grossness, that eating and loving begin to appear incompatible. Again the *Romaunt of the Rose* brings the evidence:

> Such comyng and such goyng
> Such hevynesse and such wakyng
> Makith lovers, withouten wene,
> Under her clothes pale and lene.
> For love leveth colour ne cleernesse,
> Who loveth trewe hath no fatnesse;
> Thou shalt wel by thy-silf ysee
> That thou must nedis assaied be;
> For men that shape hem other weye
> Falsly her ladyes to bitraye,
> It is no wonder though they be fatt,
> With false othes her loves they gatt.
> For oft I see suche losengours
> Fatter than abbatis or priours.

On occasion, the true lover, like Jehan in *Jehan and Blonde*, is like to fade away, and can only eat when his lady serves the dishes to him with her own delicate hands. Our Valentine had been a good trencherman before he became a romantic lover; in those days, when he fasted, it was presently after dinner. But once he becomes a votary, not even ambrosia nor nectar are good enough for his æthereal table: "now can I break my fast, dine, sup, and sleep upon the very naked name of love." How he thrives on this diet will become a primary article of the literary and dramatic criticism of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*.

So much for the spirit of romance in the play. Now for the world in which it is set,—since, taking its religion thence, it must also take the romantic world in which such religion may reveal itself. Not men living dully sluggardised at home, but those bred and tutored in the wider world, seeking preferment out, trying their fortunes in war or discovering islands far away,—these are they who have scope to put such religion to the proof. So in the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, the scene is laid in Italy, the country which to Shakespeare's fellows was the hallowed land of romance. But it is an Italy of romance, not of physiographic authenticity. It has inland waterways unknown to geographers; the journey from Verona to Mantua is a sea-voyage; it is indeed a scenario in which all the material trappings of romance may be assembled. Mountain and forest are indispensable, mountains which are brigand-haunted, and forests in the gloom of which are abbeys from whose postern gates friars creep into the encircling woods, so wrapt in penitential mood that lurking lions, prowling hungrily for food, are utterly forgotten. In such a locality, the tale of true love may run its uneven course. The poetically gifted lover meets such obstacles as a rival, at whom he hurls his cartel, and a perverse father whose plans for his daughter are based on such irrelevant considerations as the rivals' bank-balances. The father's castle has its upper tower far from the ground, and built so shelving that to climb it is at apparent hazard of one's life. And here is the angelic daughter's chamber wherein she is nightly lodged, within doors securely locked, so that rescue can only be by a corded ladder to her chamber window. Then unexpected difficulties will be expected to intrude: the best-laid plot to carry her away is foiled by the machinations of a villain out of the least suspected quarter. Banishment naturally follows, and at length, with the flight of the heroine and the pursuit of her by the entire court, all will work out well by a series of surprising coincidences, to which rivals, brigands, friars, and lions are all somehow contributory. In this way, romantic love makes its romantic universe; and this in fact is the setting and the story of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona.*

This, both in matter and in spirit, is the tradition which the Elizabethan dramatists desired to lift bodily on to their comic stage. But something somehow went wrong. The spirit of mediæval romance seemed to shrivel in the presence of comedy. Something similar had in fact happened in the real world outside the theatre. The last hero of romance had lived gloriously and had died quite out of his part. Jacques de Lalaing, le bon chevalier, the mirror of knighthood who adorned the Burgundian court in the middle of the fifteenth century, had become the pattern of chivalry for all Europe. To his contemporaries, "fair was he as Paris, pious as Æneas, wise as Ulysses, and passionate as Hector": and his exploits in tournament and in knight-errantry had carried his fame through many lands. He died an early death in 1453. But he did not die of a lover's broken heart; nor was he slain in tourney by a foeman worthy of his steel and of his thirty-two emblazoned pennants. He was shot down by a cannon ball in an expedition against the merchants and shopkeepers of Ghent. The gross ponderable facts of a very material world swept the symbol of an outworn ideal from off the face of the earth. So in *The Two Gentlemen*, a sheer clod of earth, Launce by name, will, quite unwittingly, expose the unsubstantiality of the romantic hero with whom the play throws him into contact. But we are anticipating. The consequences of Shakespeare's attempt to dramatise romance must be watched in closer detail.

There is little wonder that the Elizabethan dramatists saw the dramatic possibilities of such material, and did not at first perceive its dramatic disadvantages. They felt the dramatic thrill of following these lovers and setting the world at nought. Nor is it very difficult to set the geographical world at nought, at least to the extent of making inland seas in Italy or liberating living lions in its woods. Yet sometimes the distortions of the physical universe necessarily ventured by the romanticist entail violent wrenches of our common consciousness. The dukes of Shakespeare's Italy, for instance, apparently have magic power over the flight of time; for whilst a banished man is speaking but ten lines, the proclamation of his banishment is ratified, promulgated, and has become publicly known throughout the duchy, and sentinels have already been posted along the frontiers to prevent a surreptitious return of the exile to the land which he has not yet had time to pack his suit-case for leaving. It is a land too where optical illusions, or perhaps optical delusions, are the normal way of vision. A man seeking a page-boy interviews an applicant for the post; he is just enough of a business man to know that some sort of reason must be advanced for taking on a servant who can show neither character nor reference from previous employers, and so Proteus, engaging the disguised Julia, says that the engagement is specifically on the recommendation of the applicant's face; but he does not recognise, as he gazes into this face, that it was the one he was smothering with kisses a few weeks before when its owner, in her proper dress, was his betrothed. Yet these are really only minor impediments, requiring but a little and a by no means reluctant suspension of our disbelief. They are altogether insignificant compared with the reservations involved when romance displays its peculiar propensity for setting the world of man at nought. To satisfy its own obligations, it perforce demanded super-men ; at all events, the heroes it puts forward as its votaries in the play are something either more or less than men.

Romantically speaking, Valentine is the hero, and not alone in the technical sense. In classical comedy the hero is simply the protagonist, the central figure who is the biggest butt of the comic satire. But here the protagonist is the upholder of the faith on which the play is built, the man with whom the audience is called upon to rejoice admiringly, and not the fellow at whom it is derisively to laugh. He is to play the hero in every sense of the word. Yet in the event, the prevailing spirit of romance endows him with sentiments and provides him with occupations which inevitably frustrate the heroic intention. The story renders him a fool. Convention may sanctify his sudden conversion from the mocker to the votary of love, and may even excuse or palliate his fractious braggardism when he insults Proteus with ill-mannered comparisons between Silvia and Julia. But his helplessness and his impenetrable stupidity amount to more than the traditional blindness of a lover. Even the clown Speed can see through Silvia's trick, when she makes Valentine write a letter to himself. But Valentine plays out the excellent motion as an exceeding puppet, unenlightened by the faintest gleam of common insight. And despite his vaunt that he knows Proteus as well as he knows himself, he is blind to villainies so palpable, that Launce, the other clown of the piece, though he be but a fool, has the wits to recognise them for what they plainly are. The incidents are dramatically very significant, for both Launce and Speed come into the play for no reason whatever but to be unmistakable dolts. One begins to feel that it will be extremely difficult to make a hero of a man who is proved to be duller of wit than the patent idiots of the piece. Even when Valentine might have shone by resource in action, he relapses into conventional laments, and throws himself helplessly into the arms of Proteus for advice and consolation. Heroic opportunity stands begging round him when he encounters the brigands. But besides demonstrating that he can tell a lie—witness his tale of cock and bull about having killed a man—the situation only serves to discredit him still more : for the words of his lie, his crocodile tears for the fictitious man he claims to have slain, and his groundless boast that he slew him manfully in fight without false vantage or base treachery, are in fact nothing but an attempt to make moral capital by means of forgery and perjury. They have not even the recommendation of the Major-General's tears for the orphan boy. When at length Valentine is duly installed as captain of the brigands, his chief occupation is to vary highway robbery with sentimental descants on the beauty of nature in her "shadowy, desert, unfrequented woods":

> Here can I sit alone, unseen of any—

and we already know his favourite hobby on these saunterings—

> And to the nightingale's complaining notes
> Tune my distresses and recording woes.

He is own brother to Gilbert's coster, who, when he isn't jumping on his mother, loves to lie abasking in the sun, and to the cut-throat, who, when not occupied in crimes, loves to hear the little brook agurgling and listen to the merry village chimes. But Valentine's utmost reach of ineptitude comes with what, again romantically speaking, is meant to be the heroic climax of the play. When he has just learnt the full tale of the villainy of Proteus, the code permits him neither resentment nor passion. Like a cashier addressing a charwoman who has pilfered a penny stamp, he sums up his rebuke—"I am sorry I must never trust thee more." And worse follows immediately. With but five lines of formal apology from the villain, Valentine professes himself so completely satisfied that he enthusiastically resigns his darling Silvia to the traitor. Even Valentine must have seen that the gesture was a little odd, because he quotes the legal sanction. It is the code, a primary article in the romantic faith—"that my love may appear plain and free." But it makes a man a nincompoop. Nor does it help much that after this preposterous episode, Valentine is allowed to spit a little fire in an encounter with another rival, Thurio. He has already proved himself so true a son of romance that he can never again be mistaken for a creature of human nature.

Proteus is less hampered by romantic obligation; because the plot requires him to have just sufficient of salutary villainy to make him throw over their commandments for his own ends. Yet the villain of romance suffers almost as much from the pressure of romanticism as does the hero. The noble fellows whom he, as villain, is called upon to deceive are such gullible mortals that little positive skill is necessary. Proteus can fool Thurio and Valentine and the Duke without exerting himself. But on the one occasion when he might have shown his wits, he only reveals his lack of them. Making love to Silvia, he meets her protest against his disloyalty to Julia by inventing the easy excuse that Julia is dead. Silvia replies that, even so, he should be ashamed to wrong Valentine. It is, of course, a tight corner: but the best Proteus can do is to say "I likewise hear that Valentine is dead." He might at least have displayed a little more ingenuity in invention; he fails in precisely such a situation as would have permitted the clown of classical comedy to triumph. Moreover, the main plot requires Proteus to be guilty of incredible duplicity, and of the most facile rapidity in changing morals and mistresses. But he need scarcely have made the change explicit in words so ineptly casual and banal as his remark: "*Methinks* my zeal to Valentine is cold." The phrase is accidentally in keeping with the unintended complacence he displays when, wooing the lady who will have none of him, he begins by informing her that "he has made her happy" by his coming. The trait becomes intolerably ludicrous when, all his sins forgiven him, and Julia restored to his arms, all he can utter in confession is his own fatuous self-conceit:

O heaven, were man
But constant, he were perfect.

It is, of course, a fine sentiment; but the audience, having seen Valentine, simply will not believe it.

Even the brigands of romance will scarcely stand the test of the stage. They enter with metaphorical daggers in mouths bristling with black mustachios and with desperate oaths. Callous and bloodthirsty ruffians, spoiling for a fight, their chief regret is that fate is sending only one defenceless traveller to be rifled instead of ten. But when the destined victim turns out to be two, courage perhaps abates a little: at all events, the travellers are warned to keep their distance, and throw over the booty or otherwise to assume a sitting posture, whilst the rifling is safely done by the desperadoes themselves. Perhaps this, and not his customary ineptitude in speech, is what makes Valentine address the villains as "My friends." But, of course, his assumption is, for the trade of brigandage, economically unsound. And so, with apologies for correcting him, Valentine is informed that he is not playing the game—"that's not so, sir; we are your enemies." But the outlaws are connoisseurs of masculine beauty, and Valentine's fine figure secures him an opportunity for a hearing: one cannot but note that this is the first time that any of his romantic attributes has made for his advantage, and that he misuses it scandalously for his lying brag. Hearing the fiction, however, the bandits feel at once that here is a fellow spirit, given, like themselves, to "so small a fault" as homicide. Straightway they implore him to show them his diploma in the modern languages, promising him the kingship of the band if it is of good honours' standard. Becoming convivial, they reveal their amiable dispositions in snatches of their life-history. One has amused himself with attempts at abduction. Another, when the whim takes him, "in his mood," has the merry trick of stabbing gentlemen unto the heart; and his gaiety makes us forget that a mood in Shakespeare's English was not quite the casual fancy it now is. Another acclaims these and other "such like petty crimes" as congenial peccadilloes in his own repertory. By this time, the brigands have become so hilarious with their reminiscences, that they are no longer minded to scrutinise Valentine's academic credentials. They will take him for a linguist merely "on his own report," and, mainly because he "is beautified with goodly shape," they offer him the leadership, pathetically promising to love him as their commander and their king. Clearly such a thoroughly unbrigandlike procedure as this election has almost put them out of their parts. They must be allowed to recover in a traditional tableau. Daggers are whipped out, threats become fierce, and Valentine, with steel points at his throat, is given the choice of being a king or a corpse. Perhaps his fear is responsible for the odd proviso that "silly women" shall be exempt from the depradations of the gang over which he is to rule; but it is of course too much to expect of better men than Valentine to require them to anticipate a variation in the meaning of a word. Neither before nor after the *Two Gentlemen of Verona* has dramatic literature known a band of outlaws like to these—except once: there are the Pirates of Penzance: but then Gilbert meant his to be funny.

One begins to suspect that everything which is hallowed by the tradition of romance is made thereby of no avail for the purposes of drama. But there are Julia and Launce to reckon with; and these are figures universally accounted the most substantial beings in the play. So indeed they are. But they owe it entirely to the fact that they are under no obligation whatever to the code of romance. The behaviour of Valentine is entirely conditioned by the doctrine of romantic love. But the code allowed to woman no duty but to excite by her beauty the devoted worship of her knight. If England instead of France had performed the final codification of chivalry, its women might have had other and less lady-like propensities, such, for instance, as King Horn's Rimenhild displayed. But when a French romance elaborates its portrait of womanhood, it gives her patience rather than character: women with the forcefulness of a distinct personality might have turned the energies of their knights away from consecrated paths of knighthood, as Chretien's Enide turned her Erec:

Mes tant l'ama Erec d'amors
Que d'armes mes ne li chaloit,
Ne a tornoiemant n'aloit
N'avoit mes soing de tornoiier.

Wherefore Chretien's romance tells of Erec's regeneration through the discipline by which he reduces his Enide to absolute submission. At the end, she has attained complete self-suppression—

Ne je tant hardie ne sui
Que je os regarder vers lui—

and, to the modern eye, has become the perfect pattern of an exquisitely charming nonentity.

When Shakespeare takes over a tradition whose women are like these, so long as he preserves the beauty of their faces, he can endow them with whatever character he may please. His Julia is a creation, not a convention. As she is a woman, acting on a woman's instinct —"I have no other but a woman's reason, I think him so because I think him so"—she is depicted in moods, whimsies, and vagaries which are in fact the stuff of dramatic characterisation. Like the heroine of romance, she will cover her first love-letter with kisses, and press the precious manuscript to her heart. But like the spirited independent young lady of the world, she will not expose herself to the chuckles of her maid by exhibiting the common symptoms of her affections. Hence the pretended contempt, and the struggle to keep up appearances, even at considerable risk to the sacred document. But for what seriously concerns her love, Julia is too level-headed to over-reach herself. As far as may be, she will avoid the disapproval of opinion: but where there is no remedy, she will defy a scandalised world, and undertake her pilgrimage of love. She knows the hazards of the road and the many weary steps it will involve. But she also knows her own capacities, and has duly taken note of all material things she will stand in need of. And although Proteus is a poor thing on whom to lavish so much love, Julia knows that love is indeed a blinded god; and in her capable hands even a Proteus may be moulded to something worth the having.

Launce is another who insists on remaining in the memory. He has no real right within the play, except that gentlemen must have servants, and Elizabethan audiences must have clowns. But coming in thus by a back-door, he earns an unexpected importance in the play. Seen side by side with Speed, his origin is clear. Whilst Speed belongs to the purely theatrical family of the Dromios, with their punning and logic-chopping asininities, Launce harks back to the native Costard. And as Costard shows his relationship to Bottom by his skill in village theatricals, so Launce reveals by his wooing his family connection with Touchstone, and Touchstone's Audrey, who was a poor thing, but his own. All the kind of the Launces are thus palpably a mighty stock. Their worth, compared with that of the Speeds and the Dromios, is admirably indicated by Launce's consummate use of Speed's curiosity and of his better schooling. Launce gets his letter deciphered; he gets also an opportunity to display his own superior breeding, and to secure condign punishment for the ill-mannered Speed: "now will he be swinged for reading my letter; an unmannerly slave, that will thrust himself into secrets! I'll after, to rejoice in the boy's correction."

Launce is happiest with his dog. Clownage can go no farther than the pantomimic representation, with staff and shoe and dog, of the parting from his home-folks. Laughter is hilarious at Launce's bitter grief that his ungrateful cur declined to shed a tear. That Launce should expect it is, of course, the element of preposterous incongruity which makes him a clown. But when he puts his complaint squarely, that his "dog has no more pity in him than a dog," the thrust pierces more than it was meant to. Romance itself has expected no less largely of Valentine, of Proteus, and of the rest. It has demanded that man shall be more than man, and has laid upon him requisitions passing the ability of man to fulfil. At the bidding of romance, Valentine and Proteus have become what they are in the play, and the one thing they are not is men like other men. A further incident in which Launce is concerned takes on a similarly unexpected significance. He has made as great a sacrifice as did Valentine himself: he has given up his own cur in place of the one which Proteus entrusted to him to take to Silvia. But the effect hardly suggests that self-sacrifice is worldly-wise. And so once more it seems to bring into question the worldly worth of the code which sanctifies such deeds. Unintentionally, Launce has become the means by which the incompatibilities and the unrealities of romantic postulates are laid bare. And Launce is palpably the stuff of comedy: awakening our comic sense, he inevitably sharpens our appreciation of the particular range of incongruities which are the province of comedy—the incongruity between what a thing really is and what it is taken to be.

Romance, and not comedy, has called the tune of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, and governed the direction of the action of the play. That is why its creatures bear so little resemblance to men of flesh and blood. Lacking this, they are scarcely dramatic figures at all; for every form of drama would appear to seek at least so much of human nature in its characters. But perhaps the characters of the Two Gentlemen are comic in a sense which at first had never entered the mind of their maker. Valentine bids for the sympathy, but not for the laughter of the audience: the ideals by which he lives are assumed to have the world's approbation. But in execution they involve him in most ridiculous plight. He turns the world from its compassionate approval to a mood of sceptical questioning. The hero of romantic comedy appears no better than its clowns. And so topsy-turvy is the world of romance that apparently the one obvious way to be reputed in it for a fool, is to show at least a faint sign of discretion and of common sense. Thurio, for instance, was cast for the dotard of the play, and of course he is not without egregious folly. But what was meant in the end to annihilate him with contempt, turns out quite otherwise. Threatened by Valentine's sword, he resigns all claim to Silvia, on the ground that he holds him but a fool that will endanger his body for a girl that loves him not. The audience is invited to call Thurio a fool for thus showing himself to be the one person in the play with a modicum of worldly wisdom, a respect for the limitations of human nature, and a recognition of the conditions under which it may survive. Clearly, Shakespeare's first attempt to make romantic comedy had only succeeded so far that it had unexpectedly and inadvertently made romance comic. The real problem was still to be faced.

THE ORIGINALITY OF CICERO.[1]

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THE subject of this lecture was suggested to me by some remarks of my brilliant friend Professor E. K. Rand. In his book on *The Founders of the Middle Ages*, that is, on the great Latin writers of the fourth, fifth and sixth Christian centuries, from St. Jerome to Boethius and indeed to Charlemagne, Professor Rand again and again points out the influence which Cicero's philosophic writings had upon the Fathers of the Church, whose knowledge of Greek idealism, especially Plato's, came to them not directly but through Cicero. One point of Professor Rand's seemed to me to deserve further study than his immediate purpose allowed, namely, that all Cicero's teaching, though, as Cicero himself gratefully avows, it is based on what he had learnt from Plato and Aristotle as well as from later Greek thinkers like his own teacher Panaetius, was enlarged by his study of Roman history and his own political experience. Professor Rand rightly endorses the remark of Lactantius[2] that Cicero 'contributed a great deal of his own' (*nova ipse afferens plurima*).

For fear anyone should think that I propose to embrace the whole scope of Greek philosophy in this lecture, let me add at once that I shall only deal with the political side of Cicero's teaching, and even that only in outline. In this field I shall try to show that Cicero's work was not merely original, but marked an epoch; and that its creative influence has continued down to our own times and is still important in the modern world; though that influence has spread through so many derivative channels that most modern writers have ceased to think of it as Cicero's at all. And since it has happened to me to be studying this subject in an interval between two visits to the United States, it has a particular interest for me in this, that Cicero's teaching comprises several principles of government on which Englishmen and Americans are in complete agreement; and our agreement with one another, in theory and in practice, is, as far as I can judge, far closer than our agreement in such matters with any other nation in the world.

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[1] A lecture delivered at the John Rylands Library on March 12, 1930. I am indebted to my friend Professor J. L. Stocks for some valuable criticisms at the proof stage on several details which I have been glad to amend.

[2] Rand, p. 52. Lact. I. 2, iii.

"Original" is, of course, a dangerous word. It ought to be used of discoveries which no one has made before; but then what is a discovery? If what the discoverer finds is something concrete and tangible, like the Continent of America, which is then first brought within the range of human knowledge, we feel no difficulty. But after all, this is not the most important kind of discovery. Those discoveries which have brought about the greatest and most lasting changes in human life, from Copernicus to Rutherford and Marconi in science, from Zoroaster or Buddha to Wesley in religion, from Solon to Mazzini or Woodrow Wilson in politics, all have consisted in this, that their authors have seen new properties or capacities in things already familiar, or new and important relations between such things. The real question is as to the range and importance of the observation. I remember, from my early years at Manchester, a claim made by a clever young woman who has since become rich and well-known from her contributions to a particular class of quasi-scientific literature. In those times she was a research-student in one of our departments, and she remarked one day at lunch that she counted a day lost on which she had not made a discovery; on which a highly distinguished physicist, who was sitting next to her, observed—to the delight of the table in general—"I suppose if you make a discovery on Monday and then find out on Tuesday that it is wrong, that will count as two?"

With this sobering recollection, I still venture to maintain that in the deepest sense of the word Cicero did discover important principles, because he took the brilliant inductions of Plato, which were based on the concentrated experience of the Greek States, and expanded or corrected them in the light of the growth of Rome and the Roman Empire, a development in which he himself had had a manifold share. For, as we all know, Cicero was the leader of the Roman Bar, handling cases of public consequence, an administrator in one of the provinces, and soon the vindicator of that and other provinces against the intolerable oppression of their Roman governors; then himself chief magistrate of the Empire in a year of unique danger with which he had to grapple single-handed; later on himself a governor of one of the provinces on the border-line between East and West. So that, even apart from the vicissitudes of his own career, he had been actually concerned in many capacities with the great task, the great adventure, of governing the world.

It has often been the fashion to apologise for Cicero's treatment of Greek philosophy as being merely that of a translator, or at best, a compiler, whose work, though industrious, had robbed his originals, so it was supposed, not merely of their own special charms of style, but largely also of their philosophic importance. This is because Cicero was essentially an eclectic; he took what suited his purpose wherever he found it; and he frankly disavows any pretence of erecting a single consistent philosophical system. His ambition is to write something which will be useful and help to guide men in practical affairs by connecting these affairs with first principles.

In his treatise *On The Republic* with which I am mainly concerned, and which, in spite of its fragmentary condition, is a most interesting book, he does not neglect the theoretical aspect of politics; only he is not concerned to elaborate any ultimate metaphysical or anthropological basis for his ideals. He takes over that basis from the Greeks—Plato, Aristotle and the Stoics—as a matter of general agreement,[1] namely, the origin of society in the tribe and of the tribe in the family and the instinct[2] for social union, and then examines the principles of sound government, illustrating them from history, especially Roman history, down to the last quarter of the second century B.C.

Now what are these principles? If they are to be called discoveries it must be, as we have seen, because they are far-reaching. We shall find that they are at least so important that the freedom of our modern world depends upon them; so that "The Modernity of Cicero" would have been an alternative title for this lecture.

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[1] *Rep.* i. 38, illa elementa, 'the abc of the subject.'

[2] *Rep.* iii. 35.

John Stuart Mill's essay on "Representative Government" may, I suppose, be taken as embodying, besides much else, at least some of the main principles on which nearly all political parties in the free countries are agreed; and it is interesting to compare his canons of good government with Cicero's. Mill writes always with lucidity and humour, but he is wont to state his doctrine as the mere product of his own mind. He rarely refers to any of his predecessors except in the most general terms.

It is inevitable, I am afraid, that the points now to be considered will seem commonplace, indeed so familiar that you may think it hardly worth while to consider their history. One of the consequences of saying a thing well, as Pindar says, is that it "goes on with a voice sounding for ever"; and well brought-up young people who have imbibed some of these truths with their earliest lessons are startled when they come across them as they were formulated thousands of years ago. I remember a great saying of Horace which it is safe to say has comforted and strengthened hundreds of men [1] in terrible moments; yet it was quoted to me recently by a bright young student with the impatient exclamation, "How can people write such stuff!" Well, in Cicero's case, we should be fortunate indeed if we could regard his principles as finally established, even in Europe. Mill at least thought them worth contending for, and in the light of recent history it is hard to think that any free country can afford to forget them.

Let me put a few of these cardinal points in the form of questions.

1. What is a nation?

"A portion of mankind," answers Mill, "united among themselves by common sympathies which . . . make them co-operate with each other . . . and desire to be under the same government." [2]

This is almost verbally identical, though Mill does not mention it, with Cicero's definition,[3] 'A state is not any kind of assemblage of men, but a union of a multitude of men, allied by consenting to the same law and by community of interests'; and more briefly, 'A state is a union of men to share the same law.'

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[1] As young Quentin Battye fell mortally wounded on the ridge at Delhi, he murmured, in his last utterance to an old school friend, '*Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.*'

[2] *Considerations on Representative Government*, People's Edition, 1867, p. 12 and c. xvi. init.

[3] *Rep.* i. §§ 39 & 49.

2. What is the end of government?

"The well-being of the governed," says Mill, "is the sole end."[1]

This is again almost literally from Cicero. 'The ruler must look to the good of his subjects as a whole, not to his own advantage nor to that of any particular party.'[2] And he takes over Plato's illustration: 'The helmsman's object is a prosperous voyage, that of a doctor, health, that of a commander, victory; so the end of ruling a state is the happiness of its citizens.'[3]

3. What is the most important part of this happiness?

"To promote the virtue and intelligence of the people," says Mill.[4]

To the definition we have just quoted Cicero adds that 'the happiness of the community means that its position is secure, its resources adequate, its reputation honourable, its virtue high'—a fuller and rather finer definition than Mill's.

4. What is the chief way by which this is to be tested?

"The one indispensable merit of a government," says Mill,[5] "is that its operation on the people is favourable, or at least not unfavourable, to the next step which it is necessary for them to take in order to raise themselves to a higher level."

This is rather vague; Mill assumes that progress of some sort is essential to the life of a community and that the progress will be to "a higher level"; but he does not state in what the higher level consists, though presumably he meant to imply at least some progress in the sphere of morals.

In Cicero's teaching the ethical ends of government are repeatedly indicated. For example, at the outset[6] he defines the impulse which leads men into public life as being 'the necessity,' that is the instinctive craving 'for virtue which Nature has implanted in men.' Thus the end of society is not ready made; it is something that has to be won by effort and development. And beside this we may set a noble passage[7] preserved for us at length by Lactantius which traces the ultimate source of government to 'the Law of Nature, the true Law, which is right reason in harmony with Nature, common to and binding upon all communities of mankind, past, present and future, and which was devised and instituted by the Creator Himself.' This was a favourite doctrine of the Stoics, and Cicero, like other Roman lawyers, cordially embraced it. Thus he insists again and again[1] that there can be no government worthy of the name without perfect justice; and this does not come merely by Nature, i.e. not by birth, but is the natural goal of social order.

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[1] *Repr. Gov.* p. 12.

[2] Cicero: *De Off.* i. 85 [and Arist. *Pol.* iii. 7.—J.L.S.].

[3] *Rep.* v. 58; of course modelled on Plato, *Republic*, i. 341 c. ff.

[4] *Repr. Gov.* p. 12.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 15.

[6] *Rep.* i. 1.

[7] *Rep.* iii. 33.

Thus the idea of perpetual change, which Mill seems to esteem for its own sake, is conceived in Cicero in a very different way, as we shall see soon.[2] Here note only that the final end of that growth is definitely stated by Cicero from a broader point of view than by Mill. It is true, I think, to say that Mill's standpoint throughout the book, like Hegel's,[3] is simply national. Mill regards himself as discussing the best kind of government for one particular nation. But Cicero at the outset[4] defines the greatest ambition of the politician as being 'to increase the resources of the human race'—not, observe, of his own state—'and to make the life of men safer and richer'—not, you observe, only the life of his fellow-citizens, —*hominum*, not *civium* merely. That is a noteworthy difference, not merely from Mill, who might conceivably have accepted such a correction, but also from the point of view of the Greek philosophers from whom Mill as well as Cicero drew so freely.

We come nearer to our own everyday politics with the next two points:

5. What is the ideally best form of government?

"That," replies Mill,[5] "in which the supreme . . . power in the last resort is vested in the entire community, every citizen having a voice in the exercise of that ultimate sovereignty and being at least occasionally called upon to take an actual part in the government by personal discharge of some public function."

This is not far removed from Cicero's statement:[6] 'There ought to be in every community, first, some conspicuous and king-like centre, next, some share allotted to the authority of leading men, and thirdly, some questions reserved for the judgment and decision of the whole mass of the people.' And these 'reserved' questions are matters of high importance.[1] 'Freedom has no certain home in any community except where the authority of the people is supreme. Nothing is dearer to men than freedom, and it cannot be called freedom unless it is evenly distributed'; and this, Cicero goes on to explain, is impossible either under a despotism or an oligarchy or a plutocracy, in none of which have the people 'any share either in government, or in deliberative assemblies or in the work of decision in courts of law, since these prerogatives are reserved for the despot or for a few ancient families or for the wealthy.' Note especially Cicero's dwelling on the dangers of plutocracy, a danger which, though no doubt present to Mill's mind, is nowhere, so far as I have noticed, stated with more vigour and prominence than it is by Cicero, who declares[2] roundly that 'there is no more misshapen form of constitution than that in which the richest men are accounted the best.' Could any Labour member of Parliament express his democratic principles more strongly than this declaration written in 43 B.C.? Unless I mistake, nothing like it is to be found in Aristotle, whose attitude is very different, as we shall see; and though Plato's ruling class are superior in wisdom rather than in wealth, there is no doubt that they were to be comfortably endowed and under no necessity of earning their living.

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[1] *Rep.* ii. 70.
[2] P. 374 inf.
[3] P. 376 inf.
[4] *Rep.* i. 3.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 21.
[6] *Ibid.*, 69 [Cicero's statement seems to me nearer to Aristotle than to Mill: it represents surely the general idea behind Aristotle's 'polity,' *i.e.*, constitutional government.—J.L.S.].

6. How are the people to exert their influence?

The answer which runs throughout Mill's book is, of course, that they elect representatives to the governing Body. And Mill himself[3] points out that the Roman Senate escaped the characteristic disease of a bureaucracy, namely to be smothered in routine, through its popular element, that is to say, because its membership was determined by popular election to certain offices.

On this point Cicero repeatedly insists.[4] 'The way to place the welfare of the state in the best hands is that a free people shall choose the best men to govern them.' And again 'The people themselves, however wild and loosely organised they may be, nevertheless do possess a great power of telling one man from another, estimating them by many different qualities; and this power of choice is an important factor in their political life.' Elsewhere[1] he insists that 'unless the people as a whole have a share in such a choice they cannot be said to be free.'

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[1] *Rep.* i. 47.

[2] *Ibid.*, 51. [Compare Mill's c. v. ad fin.—J.L.S.]

[3] *Ibid.* p. 46.

[4] *Ibid.*, 51 and 53.

7. What is the best security for continuous progress?

"The antagonism of influences," says Mill,[2] "is the only real security for national progress." In other words, the criticism of His Majesty's Opposition—in which, I believe, Mill took a joyful part in his day—is quite as important to the community as the initiative of His Majesty's Government, and it is a part of what Mill calls "mixed" or "balanced government"[3] in which decision is ultimately taken as the result of free discussion between representatives of different interests.

It is curious that Mill adds to this the note that "in the opinion of the Ancients a balanced constitution is impossible." But this very word balance (*compensatio*) is that used by Cicero[4] as being the indispensable condition of a stable constitution. There must be an even balance of privilege and duty, so that the power of magistrates, the authority of the body of leading citizens and the freedom of the community at large shall all be properly shared. And similarly he indicates, as we have seen,[5] that the best form of government will be duly 'combined and seasoned' from different elements; and Plato before him had realised[6] something of the same point. And we may say that the watchword of Cicero's whole political life, *ordinum concordia*, the harmony of the different orders, meant precisely this, the union of different interests by the process of discussion and conciliation, exactly the "give and take" which is the homely principle of British political life.

This point brings us face to face with the real basis of Cicero's convictions. It would be easy to show that most of the seven principles of government which we have just examined—i.e. all but the fifth and sixth which insist on the people's share in power and on their exercising it by choosing their governors—are put by Cicero in a shape which was first given them by one or more of the Greek thinkers. But to say this does not answer a quite different question, namely, why did Cicero believe them? Why does he defend them with such enthusiasm? In a word, what is the source, not of his formulæ, but of his intense conviction of their truth?

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[1] *Rep.* i. 47.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 17.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 35.
[4] *Rep.* ii. 57.
[5] See 5 (above p. 366).
[6] *Laws*, iii. 693 D. 2.

We may put the question in another way. Why does Cicero select these particular doctrines from the mass of political theory that he found in the books that he read, such as Plato's *Republic* and *Laws*, Aristotle's *Politics* and Lucretius' account of the growth of society? Why has it happened that Cicero's leading doctrines have entered into the life of the modern world and are still part of it? Many of the Greek doctrines that Cicero did not adopt but left wholly on one side are either still only on the fringe of practical thought or else have been unanimously rejected by practical men as having no place in the real human world. Why, for example, do we find nothing in Cicero of the regulations which both Aristotle[1] and Plato[2] solemnly debate as to the site of the community and its distance from the sea? Or of the number of its population, which Plato in his *Laws*[3] fixed at 5040, a number which he regarded as having beautiful mathematical capacities, and which Aristotle seriously criticises as being too large?[4] We find in Cicero nothing of the aristocratic limitation imposed by them both on the franchise; for both Aristotle and Plato regarded it as vitally important to restrict the power of voting, in other words, to confine real citizenship, to a small, leisured and highly educated class. There is not much harm, says Plato,[5] in a carpenter's trying to do the work of a cobbler if he likes, but 'great harm may come from a cobbler's leaving his last and trying to be a legislator.' And in the same spirit Aristotle provides that all the physical work necessary for maintaining the community is to be done partly by an inferior class, 'the hangers-on' (περίοικοι), as he calls them, who are to furnish among other elements in the population the farmers, the sailors, and all the craftsmen, and partly by slaves, who, of course, do not count.[6]

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[1] *Pol.* iv. (vii.), cc. 6 and 11 (1327*a* ff.).

[2] *Laws*, iv. 704.

[3] *Ibid.*, v. 737 C.

[4] *Pol.* ii. c. 6, 1265*a*.

[5] *Republic*, v. 458-461.

[6] *Pol.* iv. (vii), c. 6 (1327*b*). In this both Plato and Aristotle had fallen far away from the ideals of Pericles, who had boldly declared, in his great funeral speech of 431 B.C., that the Athenians 'claimed to be competent judges of politics without neglecting their private business.' Plato and

Nor, again, is there in Cicero anything of the topsy-turvy regulations for marriage and for the restriction of population which are given, though in different forms, both by Plato[1] and Aristotle,[2] but which the general sense of every subsequent generation has rejected, as being not merely fantastic, but, in Aristotle at least, altogether inhuman. And they are strangely out of harmony with the general ideals which these philosophers set before them. We may be allowed to observe in passing that if even such thinkers as Plato and Aristotle came to hopeless grief over the problems of sex, perhaps we may learn a little patience in our own perplexities! Cicero, at least, stood too firm on human ground to let his picture of the state be blotched by that kind of paint.

Enough has been said to illustrate the kind of weakness in the great Greek thinkers which Cicero has completely escaped. In his own picture of the state he certainly achieved the kind of success which he hoped to do[3] in his conception of the after-life, a conception which had an immense influence on Vergil, on the Fathers of the Christian Church, on Dante, and indeed on all Christian thought. At the outset of that part of the *Republic* which we generally know as *Scipio's Dream*, we are told that what he has to say is put, not as was Plato's theory,[4] in the shape of an elaborate myth (told by a man who came to life again after lying nine days on his funeral pyre), but as a dream dreamt by a real person, the greatest statesman of his day, 'on purpose to suggest that the reader has not before him fantastic inventions, mere fables fit for derision, but the sober conjectures of thinking men.' Some day I should like to return to this

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Aristotle held that Pericles' doctrine had worked very badly at Athens, whose fall they attributed to its constitution. This is a large question, into which I cannot here enter. They held that 'the life of mechanics and tradesmen is ignoble and inimical to virtue,' and that 'husbandmen have not the leisure necessary to the development of virtue.' (This was put more briefly by Tennyson's *Northern Farmer*—"Take my word for it, Sammy, the poor in a loomp is bad.") This Aristotle assumed as self-evident (*Pol.* vii. 8, 1328*b* ad fin. (*cf.* Plato, *Laws*, xi. 919); but all the course and especially all the great crises of subsequent history have shown that these Greek philosophers were wrong. There is not a word of such doctrine in Cicero.

[1] *Republic*, v. 458 ff.

[2] *Pol.* ii. c. 6, 1265*b* and iv. (vii.), c. 16 (1335*b*).

[3] *Rep.* vi. 3.

[4] *Republic*, x. ad fin.

beautiful vision ; but here I must keep to the more mundane side of Cicero's work ; noting only in passing how closely the religious and the political aspects of it are linked in Cicero's mind,—a feature in which, as in many others, Cicero continually reminds us of the English statesman and orator who, not for nothing, is still called by my generation the "Grand Old Man."

To come back then to our two questions. Why did Cicero believe so fervently in just these political doctrines and why did he choose these and leave aside so much else in his Greek mentors ?

The answer to both is the same. It is that Cicero had learned the value of these principles by his own efforts to put them into practice, by the discipline of actual experience. As we leave the pages of Plato's *Republic*, beautiful and perennially stimulating as they are, still more as we turn from the cold reasoning of Aristotle, despite the value of his shrewd comments on Greek history, to Cicero's political writings, we feel that we have passed from the atmosphere of the study to the free air of actual life, passed from rainbows or cobwebs to reality. This could be illustrated at almost any length ; a few concrete examples must content us now.

But first I beg your attention to one simple point. It represents a movement in the world's history which took place after Plato's time, but which had begun under the eyes of Aristotle, in the achievements of his great pupil Alexander,—though it seems to have made no impression on the mind of the philosopher. It had put a new face on the world before Cicero began to write, and it helps to account for the vastly enlarged horizon of political thought in which he moved.

It is of course the unique interest of Greek history to have provided the world with an object lesson in almost every kind of political development in the career of the City States. That institution was the birthplace of human freedom ; and by a historical process which I have tried on other[1] occasions to trace, every free government the world has known has been ultimately descended from this Greek source. But the City State, though it did not disappear, had lost its pre-eminence in the three centuries between Plato and Cicero. No longer the single city but great conglomerations of cities, loosely called

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[1] See my *Great Inheritance* (1920), c. X.

Empires, occupied the stage of the world. The difference between the old and the new can be represented by the history of a single word, the Greek word πόλις, 'city,' 'state,' 'community.' This one word, as many scholars have pointed out,[1] dominated the thought of Plato and Aristotle. Their highest and largest political dreams were all circumscribed by the walls of 'the city.' This one Greek word comprised the whole subject of their reflections; ἡ πόλις was the state, the body of citizens, the government, the country; there was nothing larger to care for or to reason about. But to Cicero the most natural translation of the word in Latin, the word *urbs*, means just what we to-day call a city[1] and no more. But beside it Cicero had to reckon with the term *civitas*, and the difference implied that the citizens of a state need not all live inside the boundaries of one town. He had further the word *respublica* to signify the economic and political aspects of a government; above all, the great Roman word *populus* which the instinct of the free communities of Europe has seized upon as containing the broadest and deepest connotations of any political unit.

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[1] For instance, Susemihl and Hicks' Introduction to their edition of Aristotle's *Politics*, p. 46. (London, 1894.) So A. E. Taylor, in *Aristotle* (People's Books Series, undated but not later than 1920), p. 82 ff., writes: "The independent city state does not [i.e. in Aristotle's view] grow as civilisation advances into any higher form of organisation, as the family and village grew into it. It is the end, the last word of social progress. It is amazing to us that this piece of cheap conservatism should have been uttered at the very time when the system of independent city states had visibly broken down, and a former pupil of Aristotle himself was founding a gigantic empire to take their place as the vehicle of civilisation." And Mr. Alfred Benn, in his brilliant account of the *Greek Philosophers* (ed. 2 (1914), p. 254), though his admiration for other sides of Aristotle's work is profound, states frankly the limitations of his political outlook, contrasting it with the fruitfulness of Plato's leading ideas, in spite of the fanciful shape in which these are embodied: "Not one practical principle of any value, not one remark to show that he understood what direction history was taking, or that he had mastered the elements of social reform as set forth in Plato's works:—the progressive specialisation of political functions; the necessity of a spiritual power; the admission of women to public employments; . . . the radical reform of religion; . . . the use of public opinion as an instrument of moralisation—these are the ideas which still agitate the minds of men and they are all those of the *Republic*, the *Statesman* and the *Laws* [of Plato]." On this Professor J. L. Stocks sends me the following note: "I entirely disagree with Professor Taylor's phrase 'cheap conservatism'. The city remained for a Greek under Alexander and under Rome the centre of loyalty, the lawgiver, etc. If you or Professor Taylor now put the question to Aristotle, he would have asked you what element the conquests of Alexander had added to the life of the citizen of Athens or Ephesus. Unless you could suggest some such element, he would have insisted that society completed itself with the πόλις. Of course I quite agree that the organisation of the Roman Empire opened up all sorts of new ideas." When philosophers differ so warmly, far be it from a mere scholar to intervene! But even Professor Stocks seems to admit that Cicero could have given a substantial answer to any such question as that imagined on the lips of Aristotle by his loyal defender.

We are now prepared to observe, though briefly, one or two points which are especially characteristic and fruitful in Cicero's thought. You will hardly find them in Mill's teaching, certainly not in any prominence; and taken together they are still fresh enough to be of importance. The first, which we have already noted in passing,[2] was implied in the historical change just traced. Cicero's platform is not national but world-wide. *Roma* means to him not merely a city, nor even the capital of Italy, but the centre of an Empire; and the duties of government which he sets out to depict regard not the inhabitants of Rome or even of a single country, but the duties of the Roman people to all their allies, that is, to all the peoples of the οἰκουμένη, the then known world. In one[3] passage he contrasts the ordinary ambitions of Roman governors (*fines imperi propagare; quam plurimis imperare*) with the higher conceptions inspired by a sense of justice, 'to show mercy to all, to care for the good of the human race, to render every man his own, to lay no hand on what is sacred or public or belongs to another.' "For the Greek all foreign nations were barbarians; for the Roman they were possible allies, potential subjects or citizens."[4] Cicero's conception of justice and order, of courts of law, of finance, of military discipline, of negotiation, in a word of all the departments of state, is shaped by his experience of the Roman Empire. We cannot now stop to trace in detail his life-long struggle to reform its government. Note only two sides of his political theory which are closely connected with this œcumenic outlook.

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[1] Cicero's definition (*Rep.* i. 41) is 'a collection of houses, marked out with temples and open public spaces.' This is interesting, and retains something of the social and religious sentiment which Plato and Aristotle found in the Greek word; and it may be cordially commended to our town-planning authorities.

[2] P. 368 sup.

[3] *Rep.* iii. 25.

[4] Lord D'Abernon, speaking at the Hellenic Society's Jubilee, June 24, 1929.

First, his view of war. So far as I know Cicero was the first political thinker to lay down a doctrine which the world has not yet, or only since our last war, been willing to accept, a doctrine which you will not find in Plato or Aristotle or Hegel, for Hegel[1] assumes, as Plato appears[2] to do, that war is a necessary part of human existence; and from that Hegel deduced that the state was the supreme arbiter of morals, in short, that the state could do no wrong and that the citizen could appeal to no authority behind or beyond it. 'No war can be undertaken,' Cicero writes,[3] 'by the best kind of state except to maintain its good faith or its safety.' 'There can be no just war except for a punitive or defensive purpose.' These are principles of which we may be thankful to have heard a good deal more in the last ten years than humanity ever did before; but there they are, laid down by Cicero twelve years before the first Roman Emperor rose to power.

"But how about the Roman Empire?" someone will say. "How could Cicero hold such a view and yet defend the possession by Rome, even in his day, of its unique power over the rest of the world?"

In precisely the same way as English statesmen have been continually bound to defend the existence of the British Empire, namely, by appealing to the historical principle which, speaking broadly, is true of both. The process by which they came into being was just that familiar to us in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* where, when she was asked about her origin, Topsy could only answer, "'Specs I growed." 'The mastery,' said Cicero, 'which our people hold of all the world has come in the course of defending its allies.'[1] I take it that that sentence would cover the greater part of the extensions of the British Empire in India and elsewhere, and not less of the expansion of the United States in past and in recent times. The central power, in order to protect its subjects and allies from the incursions of the wild men on their borders, finds itself continually obliged to bring those wild men themselves within the links of the same alliance.

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[1] See Ernest Barker, *Political Thought from Spencer to To-day* (London, 1916), p. 29: "Hegel permits the State, as the highest expression of social morality, to escape from any moral restrictions. The state of war, in his view, shows the omnipotence of the State in its individuality." [Professor Barker is referring to such passages in Hegel's *Philosophy of Right* as *Werke*, viii. (Gans, Berlin, 1833), 258, 272, 324-334; Dyde's translation, pp. 240, 276, 332-334]. Kant, however, had been far nearer to Cicero's standpoint: "Kant, it appears, had little idea of the corporate life of a national State. The free will of the individual is the core of his thought. The State he conceives as in its nature a contractual body; and far from exalting the control of the State over the individual, he emphasises the necessary subordination of the State to the ideal of a permanent peace of Europe, and advocates a federal league of nations, each subject to the adjudication of the general collective will." (Barker, *ibid.*, pp. 26-27, referring especially to such passages as *Werke* (Rosenkranz), ix. p. 160, and to his famous book *Zur Ewigen Friede*, translated by N. C. Smith, 1903.)

[2] *Republic*, ii. 373*d* ff., especially 375*b*, where the class of guardians is first named, and where their whole functions and training are based on the expectation of war.

[3] *Rep.* iii. 34 and 35.

This leads us to the second point of special importance in Cicero. It is one on which I have dwelt elsewhere,[2] and it is of great interest as showing the meaning which the best thinkers of Rome impressed on the conception of Empire. According to Cicero the Roman Empire should have been called rather a protectorate (*patrocinium orbis terræ*),[3] for he realised fully how large a share in the life of that Empire was taken by the self-government which prevailed in all the allied states; and this example was taken deeply to heart by the real founders of the British Empire, especially by Lord Durham in his great proposals on which was based the constitution of Canada, the first of the Dominions to receive self-government.

And on Cicero's lips this phrase was not a mere word. It represented the greatest achievement of his life—the creation of a certain body of responsible opinion in Rome in favour of the just, temperate, and humane government of all the provinces. After Cicero's prosecution of Verres, and the great speeches in which he supported the grant of special powers in the provinces first to Pompey and then to Cæsar, on the ground of the interest of the provincials themselves, this opinion, though continually trampled on, had come to have a force with which even the most reckless governor had to reckon before as well as after his own tenure of office; and quite certainly this opinion was a large element in shaping the teaching of Vergil and Horace and the actual policy of the first Emperor, and so in determining the standard to which the government of the Empire was to be adjusted for four centuries to come. Augustus, no doubt, it was who first achieved the *pax Romana*; but it was Cicero who first conceived it and made it a reality in men's minds.

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[1] *Rep.* iii. 35.

[2] In a lecture entitled "Ancient Empires and the Modern World," first given at Melbourne, Australia, in September, 1928, and at several places in the United States in 1929; now in course of publication as one of the Charles Beebe Martin Lectures of the University of Oberlin for that year.

[3] *De Off.* ii. 27.

There is, further, in Cicero's whole treatment a note familiar in Plato and the great Athenian statesmen before him, but hardly or rarely audible in the cool survey of Aristotle. It is essentially Roman, represented in Latin by the word *patria*. To Cicero the relation of the citizen to the state was the relation of a child to his family. The citizen, he tells[1] us, must be 'trained' to think of his country as of his parents, and be prepared, indeed eager, to 'repay to his country the cost of his nurture.' This is, of course, the old and beautiful doctrine embodied in the Greek word τροφεῖα of which Plato makes full use. Cicero uses the word *amor* in his very definition of political life—'such a craving for virtue and such a love for defending the common welfare.' And that was to be the end of education, to create this passion for the well-being of his country in the mind of every child. Where Aristotle and even Plato regarded government, broadly speaking, as imposed on the subjects, Cicero has realised the secret of free government—that it is based on the personal confidence of the governed in their governors. He counted it a crime[2] that Cæsar should carry in one of his triumphs the image of the city of Marseilles which had been for many centuries the faithful ally of the Roman people, but had sided with Pompey in the Civil War. Cæsar's proceeding, said Cicero, and with perfect truth, was an example of the futility of government by fear; and he counts it an important feature of the virtue of justice that its possessor is sure to win men's confidence,[3] quoting name after name of great Romans who had held their power because they had won men's trust.

Here we are on the foundations, as Lord Morley of Blackburn would say. This brings us to the essence of Cicero's conception of the state, that like the family it was an organic growth. To Cicero the state was not what it seemed to Plato and Aristotle, just a city which had not very long ago attained its ideal of self-government and was always in danger of losing it again; it was a community whose progress towards new stages of organisation had been continuous for six or seven centuries, and whose task of civilising other nations had become more and more definite during the last of these seven. He speaks[1] of the historian as watching the Roman Republic 'being born and growing and reaching maturity, and now in the settled strength of manhood.' All this growth Cicero believed, as we have seen,[2] to have been inspired by the same creative spirit that shaped the beauties and wonders of the physical world. And if I mistake not, this organic element and the essential, formative, creative place in society of the principle of mutual regard, of the links between the members of the human family, is a cardinal point in the political thought of our own time.[3] It occupies a central place in Burke's thought, as Mr. A. J. Carlyle[4] reminds us; and the same is certainly true of T. H. Green and later writers. It has rarely been more finely stated than by Cicero: 'by nature we are disposed to love men and that is the foundation of law' (*natura propensi sumus ad diligendos homines, quod fundamentum iuris est*).[5]

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[1] *Rep.* i. 8 and 33. [2] *De Off.* ii. 28. [3] *Ibid.*, 33.

"Well," you say, "of course Cicero profited by the experience of the Roman Empire. All you tell us comes to this, that just as Plato and Aristotle reflected experience gathered from Greek democracies when they had fallen on evil days, just as Hobbes reflected the value attached in the seventeenth century to the powerful rule of a monarch, just as Hegel,[6] followed in our own day by other German writers, consecrated the Prussian belief in power as something which justified itself, so Cicero's theory represents the ideals of Roman government." In one sense that is perfectly true. It is Cicero's glory to have seized on the best ideals of government which had grown up in the centuries of Roman history and which had been developed by Roman commanders and statesmen, especially in the third century B.C.; and to Cicero more than to anyone else, with his devoted student Livy, we owe their preservation in a permanent and articulate form.

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[1] *Rep.* ii. 3.

[2] P. 363.

[3] See e.g. Professor Ernest Barker's interesting survey of *Political Thought from Spencer to To-day*, on T. H. Green, p. 34 ff.; on Hegel and Bradley, p. 62; on Bagehot, p. 151 ff.; on Graham Wallas, p. 151 ff.; on Maitland, p. 175. For Professor Barker's own conclusions see p. 246.

[4] *Mediæval Political Theory in the West* (London, 1903), vol. i. c. 1 *ad fin.*

[5] *De Leg.* i. § 43.

[6] See p. 374.

But if the criticism means that these principles were actually in force in Rome and its Empire in Cicero's day, or indeed that anyone but Cicero in that age would have chosen to assert them, then nothing could be further from the truth.

Many lectures could be filled with stories of what the Roman Empire actually was in the last centuries of the Republic, under a corrupt Senate and its unscrupulous and mostly cruel representatives. So far from expressing the opinion of his day, Cicero's teaching was in fierce defiance of it. He was in opposition all his life. Even in his consulship he had to fight anarchy almost alone; for those who applauded his courage at the moment refused afterwards to take the least share of the responsibility. Consider only a few examples of the evil methods which had become ingrained in the Senatorial government.

Some of the towns of Asia Minor had purchased at a great price from Sulla, when he was in need of money during the war with Mithradates, immunity from the recognised forms of tribute paid by provincial communities. The Senate, on the proposal of one of its most responsible leaders—a man called Philippus who in private seems to have been quite respectable—cancelled the immunities and yet refused to restore the money, a proceeding which Cicero rightly stigmatises [1] as immoral.

At about the same epoch—somewhere in the seventies B.C.—a man called Dolabella was governor of the province of Cilicia, and in pursuance of an agreement with Verres, whose character even then was notorious, an agreement [2] for which Dolabella must have received a large bribe, appointed this Verres to conduct an official mission to the king of Bithynia. To embark on this enterprise Verres, as a Roman envoy, demanded a ship from the town of Miletus. They provided him with one of the brand-new ships-of-war which they had built for use against the pirates, in accordance with their treaty with Rome. In this fine vessel Verres sailed to his destination in the Hellespont; on his arrival he dismissed the crew of Milesians to make their journey home over several hundred miles on foot, and sold the ship to certain persons, who promptly sold it again to the pirates. Such was the officer sent to represent the majesty of Rome at the court of Bithynia. And his proceedings went completely unpunished. Dolabella had golden reasons for making no remarks—"a great ox had trodden on his tongue," as Æschylus would say.

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[1] *De Off.* iii. 87.

[2] Cicero, *In Verr.* II. i. § 86 ff.

Or take the case of Calpurnius Piso, Cæsar's father-in-law and Cæsar's tool in banishing Cicero, one of the 'fine pair of Consuls' in the year 58 B.C., the first product of the secret coalition which we call the First Triumvirate. In 56 B.C. Piso reaped the reward of his subservience in the governorship of Macedonia, which then included some authority over the whole of Greece. We may note, by the way, that Piso ultimately attained to the office of Censor, the highest guardian of public morals, in 50 B.C., and that he lived and flourished as late as 44 B.C., when he asserted successfully the right of making public his great son-in-law's will in spite of the protests of Brutus and Cassius. It is clear, therefore, that the Republican system protected this gentleman completely. We may believe, if we like, that his conduct in his province was a little less abominable than it is painted in the lurid descriptions of Cicero.[1] But however we judge him in details, the methods by which he amassed a fortune are instructive and beyond doubt. When he left Rome for his province he drew from the Treasury a sum for his necessary outfit. This was eighteen million sesterces, or £144,000 in our money at the lowest computation, enough to furnish, I imagine, at least two or three, or for all I know a dozen, Viceroys of India. But in fact Piso wasted none of it on uniforms or transport; he laid it by in prudent investments before he left Rome. At the end of his time, when he left the province, he contemplated applying to the Senate for a triumph,—although on second thoughts he decided that that would be imprudent, since he had never even sent in any report to the Senate of his supposed military achievements. Nevertheless, he had spread it about his province that he expected to celebrate a triumph; and on that ground exacted what was called *coronarium*, that is, a sum of money raised by the different towns to express their joy in the successes and distinction of a departing governor. How much he got from the province as a whole is not recorded; but from the Achæans alone he secured the trifling item of 200 talents, £48,000 at least. This, however, caused a little difficulty in his accounts, after he had decided not to apply for a triumph. But a man of Piso's resource was quite equal to the emergency ; he simply entered the sum under other headings (such as provision for his journey or the like).

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[1] *De Prov. Cons.* §§ 4-14; *In Pisonem*, passim, especially §§ 83-91.

But Piso, you may say, doesn't matter much to us—though he mattered a great deal to Cicero. Let me remind you of a more famous example,[1] the noble Brutus. The better part of the Senate had at one time passed a rule forbidding members of the Senate to lend money to provincial communities ; but the town of Salamis in Cyprus wanted to borrow, and a man called Scaptius, agent for Brutus, arranged to lend them what they wanted on his patron's behalf. Since the loan was illegal and might be cancelled if it were detected, the noble creditor was, sadly, obliged to charge them rather a high rate of interest—forty-eight per cent. After five years, the town council found itself unable to pay this modest rate, so to jog their memories Scaptius secured, by the usual means, the loan of a troop of cavalry from the governor of the province. These gallant horsemen, carrying Roman standards, shut up the town council of Salamis in their own town hall until five of them had died of starvation. The rest no doubt decided to pay the interest. The military power of Rome was thus applied to enforce in the cruellest way a transaction forbidden by Roman law, and nothing more is said. Cicero was governor of the province in the next year and cut down the rate of interest to the ordinary legal maximum of twelve per cent., refusing to lend cavalry to Scaptius. But even Cicero was not strong enough to cancel the whole transaction or to expose so great a patriot as Brutus ; that would have violated the *ordinum concordia*. Against such oppression, it is only fair to say, Julius Cæsar also set his face—at all events in other people's provinces—and nearly if not quite all his murderers had some score against him on this ground.

Another and graver example,[2] from the conduct of Verres in the embassy to Bithynia, shows how completely the Senatorial government was in league with evil-doers. When Verres arrived at Lampsacus, where he was to stay for some days, he ascertained, by his usual means, that a wealthy citizen named Philodamus had a beautiful daughter.

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[1] Cic., *ad Att.* v. 21 ; vi. 1 and 2, with Tyrrell's Introduction to vol. iii. of his and Purser's *Cicero's Correspondence* (pp. xxix. and 337).

[2] *In Verr.* II. i. 61 ff.

It was the custom for Roman envoys and their chief men to enjoy the hospitality of leading citizens of the towns where they stayed. So Verres proceeded to impose on Philodamus the task of entertaining the precious chief of his own precious staff, a man called Rubrius. Philodamus, though he was most unwilling, thought it his duty to Rome to provide ample hospitality ; but he sent his son out of the house in advance so that he need not associate with the kind of men whom Verres took about with him. At the end of the banquet Rubrius suggested that Philodamus should bring in his daughter, to which the unhappy father replied that that would be contrary to all the rules of Greek society. Thereon some of Rubrius's companions whom Philodamus had generously allowed him to bring, began to clamour, and Rubrius posted soldiers at the door of the house to prevent anyone leaving it. Philodamus realised that violence was intended and a slave escaped by a back door to warn his son. A riot ensued. Rubrius and his crew were turned out and one of the lictors, that is one of the official military footmen attending on Verres, was killed. The mob proceeded to the house where Verres was staying, and would have set it on fire over his head, but for the efforts of several Roman merchants living in the town, who pointed out to the crowd that that would only make matters worse ; it would involve the most serious consequences if an actual Roman legate suffered violence. So Verres escaped and betook himself again with a full purse to his patron Dolabella, governor as we have seen, of Cilicia. So full was the purse and so great the urgency that Dolabella deserted his province (although he was responsible for a war that was then proceeding), and visited the governor of the province of Asia, a nobleman called Nero, who, according to Cicero, was a man of high character but 'unfortunately timid.' Dolabella represented to Nero the outrage committed in the slaying of a Roman lictor at Lampsacus, and prevailed on Nero to arrest Philodamus and his son and try them himself, and further secured from him that the panel of advisers with whose help Nero was to try the case should include both Dolabella and Verres himself. Seeing Verres on the bench no citizen of Lampsacus dared to testify to the facts. Both Philodamus and his son were condemned and beheaded.

Here was a shameful outrage defended, and two totally innocent men put to death, by the joint efforts of two governors of Roman provinces, who between them held sway over the whole of Asia Minor.

I am loth to extend this catalogue of crimes; but you will not realise how integral a part of the Republican system of Empire they were without one more example[1] from the career of our friend Verres, which his performances under Dolabella had not hindered in the least. One of the incidents of his governorship of Sicily was the capture and destruction by the pirates of a Sicilian fleet sent to fight against them. I need not tell you all the miserable story of why Verres appointed a worthless man to command the fleet, and how he thinned the numbers of its crews by accepting fees from a large number of the sailors to release them from service, the result being that the admiral's ship took to flight and the rest were driven ashore, deserted by their crews, and then set on fire by the pirates. Look merely at the end. In order to divert from himself and his precious admiral the disgrace of the capture, Verres arrested all the commanders of the ships, young men of high family, tried them in his own court, sentenced them to death and executed his sentence. Observe in particular his method of making money out of the tragedy. The unhappy parents of the young captains went to the prison begging to be at least allowed to see their sons, and from these unhappy persons, through his jailor, Verres exacted great sums of money on four separate counts; first, to be allowed to visit the prisoners; secondly, to be allowed to take in food and clothing for their needs; thirdly, for a promise from the jailor that he would behead them at one blow and not dispatch them by slow torture; and fourthly, that he would allow their bodies to be buried and not thrown to the dogs. This is not a bad dream. It was actually carried out by the Roman governor of Sicily (73-71 B.C.) and on his return all the power of Roman society and Roman official influence was exerted to prevent this inhuman monster from being condemned. And even when, thanks to Cicero, who made brilliant use of the fears of members of the Senate in a political crisis, Verres was condemned to exile, he kept his wealth, save only what he had been obliged to spend in paying his counsel Hortensius and other powerful senators for their help, and in his vain endeavours to pay the jury of Senators enough to get them to acquit him.

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[1] *In Verr.* II. v. §§ 82-121.

Such were the principles on which the Empire had come to be governed in Cicero's time; and you must engage in long study if you would realise the enormous courage and determination which were needed to secure the condemnation. Verres was defended by the most distinguished member of the Roman Bar, and for his acquittal the most elaborate intrigues had been set on foot to secure bribable consuls, a bribable prosecutor, a bribable judge, and a bribable jury. But Cicero succeeded in defeating them all by his fearless resistance and by the unprecedented speed with which he collected and presented the evidence, so that the trial was concluded in the year before that for which Verres and his friends had been preparing.

But Cicero stood alone. Under the secret conspiracy, known as the Triumvirate of Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus, formed in 60 B.C., every honest or even intelligent principle of government seemed to have perished, forgotten and contemned in the fierce struggle between individuals for political power and the enormous wealth which it brought. The chaos had lasted for a century and it was no small thing even to maintain in theory the standard of just administration; it was a greater thing to have vindicated such standards at grave personal cost in two cases like those of Verres and Catiline; but Cicero did more. More was demanded of him by the cruel conditions of his day. It was not only that he had thought and worked and lived for his great ideals; he must die for them too.

It has been the custom of recent historians to overlook the historical importance of the stand which Cicero took. These modern writers have been blinded by the brilliant but Prussian-headed eloquence of Mommsen, who failed to distinguish between two quite different things: on the one hand, the necessity of a centralised government; and on the other hand, the unscrupulous and generally brutal violence practised in their own interests by the ambitious persons who cleared the way for the Empire by destroying the Republic. It is time that, like Octavian himself, we recognised the truth. In 43 B.C. Octavian gave way to Antony and consented to the murder of Cicero; but some thirty or forty years later when he found one of his grandsons reading Cicero, and when the boy instinctively tried to hide the book, thinking that the Emperor would disapprove, the Emperor took it and gave it back, saying: "That was a great man, and he loved his country."

But in 43, though Octavian knew that he owed to Cicero's support his first step to power, he let himself be driven to consent to Cicero's death.

Few of the violent ends that have come to great men have been more full of tragedy. Cicero's murder came at a moment and in a fashion which signified to him that every one of the great ideas for which he had lived was crushed and extinguished. He could not know that his denunciation of Antony's tyranny and his brave pleading for a just and humane administration of the Empire was destined fifteen years later to remake the world. The appearance of Antony's cut-throats in that narrow forest path down which his faithful slaves were carrying him in the vain hope of escape, meant to Cicero not merely the end of his own life; that he nobly faced, refusing to allow his slaves to suffer by defending him. It meant also to him the overwhelming defeat of everything for which he had lived.

Fate seemed to laugh aloud at all his principles. "Society founded on community of interest"? All the power of Roman society was now in the hands of a greedy ruffian. "Society to be guided by law"? Every law in the Constitution was suspended by the authors of the Proscription. "Society to be directed to moral ends"? Two thousand citizens were being put to the sword that their property might be transferred to these three men of blood. "The end of government should be to make life safer and richer and to increase the resources of mankind"? Every single province and all the wealth of the world was being ravaged in the greed of the usurpers. "Freedom to be tested by the voice which every citizen should have in determining the course of government"? Every voice, even the most eloquent, was beaten into silence, the Empire broken up, the Senate overpowered, Rome enslaved, the whole world at the mercy of armies led by tyrants. Such was the horizon on which Cicero's eyes looked in his last moments, and such was the appalling misery which he died to relieve.

Make no mistake; nothing short of his heroic resistance and death would have sufficed. It would have been easy for him to throw in his lot with the conquerors, as he had been continually entreated to do for all the last ten years of his life. If he had done so, who can doubt that the character of the Empire would have been wholly different and infinitely less beneficent? Indeed it would be truer to say that the Empire itself could never have been securely founded, until some other voice, if Cicero's had failed, had been raised to assert the supremacy of justice and humanity, to assert it with equal power and at equal cost. To Antony's vile designs Cicero's death was a necessity. In a deeper sense it was an even greater necessity for the political salvation of the world.

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY: SOME RECENT INTERPRETATIONS.

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THERE is a story that Professor Tout, in one of those moments of pessimism that occasionally afflict the more buoyant natures, declared that the history of the fifteenth century could not be written: it was too hard. Few that work in this period will fail to sympathize with this view. It is significant that in England attempts to survey the age as a whole are extremely rare, for most of the text-books repeat one another in regarding it, politically, as well as from a religious angle, as a time of decadence, the twilight before the day-star of the Renaissance monarchy. And although economic historians have long been telling us that a steady amplifying of trade and industry was not incompatible with the dynastic struggle, and although Mr. Kingsford, in the most suggestive of all his works, showed how brighter and more promising elements in intellectual life, how the desire for peace with our ancient rival and for urban prosperity co-existed with the old prejudices,[1] there is still a strong tendency to believe that the time had a certain crepuscular character of its own, and to pass over it with an apathy born of misunderstanding, The natural and for many reasons very justifiable habit of thinking in periods has operated strongly in this direction; and in this country, at all events, the absence of first-rate chronicle sources of strongly individual authorship after Elmham and Livio had finished writing[2] would seem to bear out an opinion originally reached *a priori* by the later humanists. Superficially, there is reason enough. The positive evidence from the Charter Rolls points to a widespread decentralization after the firmer and more concentrated governmental activities of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, while, negatively, the present lack of published episcopal records wherewith to test the effect of the multiform Papal activities displayed in the Calendars of letters from the Court of Rome, or to show how efficient episcopal administration was in reality, helps to confirm the existing impression of the "running down" of medieval ecclesiasticism. It is not impossible that we shall discover, through studies in local history, that some of the results of the decentralization were valuable, or find that the activities of the Curia stimulated a vigorous, yet not disloyal, native resistance.[1] But at present we are not in a position to make general statements. Outside the sphere of political narrative, the type of work so adequately represented by the late Dr. Wylie's volumes (the last of which has been excellently completed by Professor Waugh) and by Miss Scofield's detailed monograph on Edward IV, much has yet to be done, both on Mr. Kingsford's foundations and on others which must be laid in the future; and it is most important that we should not start with the antiquated disposition that finds in the period the anticlimax which it subconsciously seeks, but should employ to-day an attitude peculiar to one of the subtlest thinkers of that time, the *docta ignorantia* of the historian, before embarking on the problems.

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[1] *Prejudice and Promise in Fifteenth Century England*, esp. chapters III, VI.

[2] The Chronicles of London, interesting and important as they are, do not fall within this category. Cf. C. L. Kingsford, *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century*, pp. 70-75.

Our continental colleagues are more fortunate, largely because they have never had the date 1485 to fight against. For Flanders, economic research on the industry and town life of the Low Countries has done much to dispel the *fin de siècle* atmosphere, and for Germany a wealth of periodical publication has kept fifteenth century study well to the fore, especially in the treatment of religious and philosophical issues, which have now found their way into one of the best of text-books on the civilisation of the later Middle Ages.[2] In the latter country three types of effort predominate, according to the characteristics of the school engaged. There is the "cultural" synthesis which tries to characterize the period as a whole by noting its dominant forms in art, literature, and contemporary thought in general; there is the group of works devoted to the analysis of humanism, especially the humanism of the non-Latin countries; and there is the great wealth of textual publication and monograph literature dealing with the pietistic movements within the Church, and most of all with the administrative history of the Curia and its relations with the national governments. Of these classes, the first and second alone can strictly be termed "interpretations"; but with the third, which to our thinking is far the most important, we cannot omit very summarily to deal, simply because in Germany it is fully recognized that the Reformation can only be understood in the light of the ecclesiastical system as it worked in the fifteenth century, and because it is the line along which parallel contributions from the English side are waiting to be made. In this field each piece of individual study, if properly and co-operatively conducted, will help us slowly to reply to the great and ultimate problem of the origins of the later and wider reforming movement throughout Christendom. For most of us, progress may have to come through publications of texts and severely restricted monographs rather than by ambitious work of bolder character. No one now, had he the ability, could write the first volume of the *History of the Papacy during the Reformation* as Creighton wrote it; what would be required to add to, and correct, his magnificent portraiture is the analysis of the administrative organisation of the Papacy, and this, despite the illuminating progress made by scholars like Ottenthal, Baumgarten, Göller and Mollat, may still be a matter of many years. Nor, as things stand, are we yet in a position to test the very suggestive generalizations of Dr. Figgis on the relation of the Conciliar Movement to the Reformation. We can only do so by studying the thinkers in relation to the facts. Yet the search for the concrete need not prevent us from profiting by attempts already made to see the age in perspective and to form some notion of its dominant characteristics.

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[1] The reference here is to the Provisors Statute of 1390; but the operation of the Præmunire Statute of 1353, as analysed recently by Mr. E. B. Graves ("The Legal Significance of the Statute of Præmunire of 1353," *Haskins Anniversary Essays*, pp. 57-80) shows that the courts had long been devising machinery to bring infringers of the earlier Statute of Provisors to justice.

[2] The third volume of Gustav Schnürer, *Kirche und Kultur im Mittelalter* (Paderborn, 1929).

I.

The impulse towards synthesis has been the legacy of "literary" historians whose main interest lay in the civilization of the Renaissance, and who attempted to describe the psychology of the "Renaissance man" in contrast with that of his medieval predecessor. For long, under the reaction that set in with the advent of the scientific school of national historians, the work of Jakob Burckhardt[1] was regarded with a good deal of suspicion in Germany, however constant its purely popular appeal; and there are many who still dismiss it as *Ideengeschichte*, far removed from the scientific category into which history should come. But the revival of interest in Ranke's most remarkable, yet not most orthodox pupil, can be witnessed to-day either in the recent imitations of the method or in the amount of serious and enlightened criticism to which his work has given rise.[2] He, we need hardly say, sought invariably after the type, after individuals or ideas representative of an epoch with marked characteristics of its own.[3] The Renaissance *Individuum* emerging from his pages was first and foremost a literary and artistic figure who might have stepped out of a Ghirlandaio. He was certainly a product of Italy, and for long he dominated the Teutonic mind, turning it from the study of Renaissance beginning north of the Alps to the maturer and more self-expressive south. Though Burckhardt used both political and religious material in discovering his type, the result in the long run was that he drew an æsthetic boundary-line between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. But as he included in his concept of the Renaissance the early humanism of the *quattrocento* without recognizing its powerful medieval affinities,[4] for him the fifteenth century falls within the period of the "Entdeckung der Welt und des Menschen," and it was left to others to give it a more peculiar character of its own. This, after the lapse of many years, Wilhelm Dilthey came nearer to doing, in articles published between 1891 and 1893, later brought together in the stimulating second volume of his collected works. Dilthey's philosophical mind saw the later Middle Ages pervaded by the neo-Platonism which was progressively to introduce doctrines of immanence in place of the characteristically medieval notion of the transcendence of God over nature and the world. To him the fifteenth century is evidently the time when men were ceasing to be occupied with an external principle governing and sustaining the universe. It is the age of renascent Pantheism. What early humanism accomplished was to assist the spread of a "religiös-universalistischen Theismus," which discovered reality (which is God) within the Universe rather than above it.[1] The new confidence of Renaissance man, his reasonable self-assertiveness, was built upon consciousness of these premisses. This is at bottom a religious interpretation of the Renaissance, which goes well back into the later Middle Ages (to Dilthey the philosophical tree of descent was the Victorines, Cusanus, Giordano Bruno, Shaftesbury) and recognizes that the fifteenth century acted to a large extent as theological midwife to the age of reform. Such views, as Ernst Troeltsch pointed out, brought Renaissance and Reformation into too close approximation, and ignored the strongly secular character of much of the Renaissance; for Troeltsch the movement, taken all in all, meant the entry of Italy once more into general history, the challenge given by Italian civilization to French modes of thought and conduct that dominated the feudal world ("französisch-theologisch-ritterliche Ideenwelt");[2] but like Dilthey and other later writers on the Renaissance (one might instance especially Wernle and Hermelinck) Troeltsch drew attention to the ambiguity of the term "Renaissance"; for even granted that we set an exclusively theological interpretation upon the movement, on other grounds there are many reasons for putting its first stages back into the early fourteenth and even the thirteenth century;[3] and, though we may not go so far as Heinrich Thode in attributing its origins to St. Francis, at least for tracing, as Konrad

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[1] Cf. in G. von Below, *Die deutsche Geschichtsschreibung von den Befreiungskrieg bis zu unseren Tagen*, 1924, the section on Riehl, Freytag and Burckhardt. Some of Burckhardt's own views about his aims and method occur in his *Weltgeschichtliche Betrachtungen*, ed. J. Oeri, 1905, esp. p. 5.

[2] Richard Winners, *Weltanschauung und Geschichtsauffassung Jakob Burckhardts* (Beiträge zur kulturgesch. der M.A. und Renaissance, ed. W. Goetz, 1929), 1-20.

[3] Winners, *op. cit.*, p. 34. Cf. p. 37: "Seine Kulturgeschichte ist eine typenbildende Wissenschaft."

[4] Burckhardt's habit of taking cross-sections here and there often obscured his sense of continuity or of development. "Burckhardts geschichtsschreibung ist eine Nebeneinanderordnung von Zuständlichkeiten. Sie sucht Querdurchschnitte zu geben statt der zeitlichen Langendurchschnitte." Winners, *ibid.*, p. 41.

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[1] *Weltanschauung und Analyse des Menschen seit Renaissance und Reformation* (*Ges. Schriften*, ii), pp. 53, 324 f.

[2] *Aufsätze zur Geistesgeschichte und Religionssoziologie* (*Ges. Schriften*, iv), p. 268.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 266 and n.

Burdach has done, its inception to the idea of re-birth prominent even in the late *trecento*—the rebirth, that is, of Rome and the classical imperial culture. Burdach's elaborate and perhaps rather too philological investigation of the uses of the term *renasci* has certainly shown that by the time of Rienzo the expectation of a sort of Virgilian golden age, brought about by an Emperor who is both Cæsar and Messiah, was familiar;[1] and although he has probably exaggerated the prevalence of this idea, there is little doubt that some of the more cultured spirits of Petrarch's time took it quite seriously and hoped for its realisation.[2]

Some therefore have given the fifteenth century to the later Middle Ages,—others have attached it wholly to the Renaissance of the sixteenth century. Of late, however, two studies that concentrate on Burgundy and Northern France have tended to describe the period as one with marked characteristics of its own. The work of Huizinga[3] and to a less degree of Cartellieri,[4] has aimed at a new appreciation of the remarkable admixture of the old and new, which goes to make up the complexity of the period. The essays of these two scholars which we have in mind deal primarily with the literary and artistic aspects of the period, and can therefore only be criticized adequately by experts in the history of those subjects, though a layman may wonder a little whether the former, in his delightful book, does not tend to exaggerate the cult of the corpse in the world he describes, and whether some of the forms analysed by him as peculiar to the age are not found in the thirteenth and even in the twelfth centuries. But a still more recent volume, Rudolf Stadelmann's *Vom Geist des ausgehenden Mittelalters*,[5] is a more general treatment, somewhat after Burckhardt's manner, of the "waning" Middle Ages, with particular reference to religion and philosophy. Stadelmann's method is that of a "historical psychologist" (as he appears to term himself); he finds in the age four leading characteristics (*Leitbegriffe*): Scepticism, Resignation,

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[1] *Reformation, Renaissance, Humanismus*, pp. 77-84.

[2] Burdach, *Vom Mittelalter zur Reformation*, II, i, 115-138. For a criticism of Burdach, cf. P. Joachimsen in *Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, XX (1920), 452 f.

[3] *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (1927).

[4] *Am Hofe der Herzöge von Burgund* (1926); tr. by Malcolm Letts, *The Court of Burgundy* (1929).

[5] Halle, 1929.

Emancipation and Pessimism.[1] These rather gloomy attributes he discovers through an analysis of contemporary life and thought. He expresses a belief that we must see in decadence certain positive features, rather than a weakening of the stream of culture: "when the historical psychologist speaks of decadence, he does not intend to be purely negative and to suspend his judgment of value; he rather means to imply a spiritual complex of peculiar composition" (*Einen seelischen Komplex von besonderer Struktur*). Decline does not mean ruin, but dislocation, disturbance of the normal values, over-refinement.[2] The formula of the period can best, he thinks, be summed up in the words of Ackermann, "Willens Ende ist unwillen": "the end of will is its negation." To illustrate the "motive" of scepticism he rightly does not go to the theories of Occam which, as he remarks, were not influential outside a comparatively small University circle,[3] and—as he might have observed—did not engender that suspicion of the reason which is sometimes attributed to them;[4] he examines instead two anti-intellectualist tendencies of the time: *spiritualismus*, by which term he means the unregulated, devotional piety found among men of mystical leanings—the men whom Ullmann treated long ago in his essay on pre-reformation reformers and whom modern scholarship is setting forth anew as critics of the hierarchical system and over-grown legalism of the fifteenth-century Church;[5] and the famous theory of the *docta ignorantia* put forward by the great Rhenish thinker, Nicolas of Cues. Stadelmann realises that the combination of men like Thomas of Kempen, Wessel Gansfort or Agrippa of Nettesheim with so formidable a churchman as Cusanus may be found difficult;[6] but in all alike, he considers, there is the same turning away from the syllogistic methods of the older theology to Christian neo-Platonism, to the study of the Pseudo-Denys and his commentators who gave to the Middle Ages the doctrines of Proclus and Plotinus. But Stadelmann's indictment of the *docta ignorantia* as leading to a negative attitude towards the intellect is less startling and comes with greater force.[1] Let us briefly analyse one or two of the leading ideas of Cusanus in the treatise of that name, which has recently been the subject of much discussion and commentary:[2] for if the work be taken in the spirit in which it was written and the true meaning of its remarkable paradoxes understood, we believe that Stadelmann's deductions about "scepticism" will need some modification.

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[1] *Op. cit.*, 29. [2] Stadelmann, *op. cit.*, p. 28. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 33.

[4] As, for example, by Father Connolly, *John Gerson, Reformer and Mystic*, pp. 43-44.

[5] E.g. Dr. Gerhard Ritter in his *Studien zur Spätscholastik*, 1921-1927, especially vol. III (on Johann von Wesel), and his "Romantische und revolutionäre Elemente in der deutschen Theologie am Vorabend der Reformation," *Deutsche Vierteljahrschrift*, V (1927).

[6] *Op. cit.*, p. 35. On Cusanus as a reformer of institutions, cf. Ignaz Zibermayr, *Die Legation des Kardinals Nikolaus Cusanus* (Reformationsgeschichtl. Studien u. Texte, 29), 1914.

Much depends on our understanding the meaning of the term aright. In his *De docta ignorantia*, Cusanus must not be thought to advocate suspension of judgment. The "learned ignorance"[3] which he commends is in itself a kind of knowledge, such knowledge as is attainable of the Infinite or Absolute, and its relation to the Universe. In his dedication of the work Cusanus finely speaks of "wonder" as the beginning of philosophy. A sane and free intellect desires and believes at first that it can comprehend the truth; but as we go on searching, the difficulties become greater, especially in mathematics. For all knowledge is by a kind of analogy or proportion; and the infinite, because it escapes all proportion, is unknown. Now there can be no proportion without number, the conception which Pythagoras extended from mathematics to all knowledge. Attempting to get beyond number to the infinite, "Socrates, Solomon and a certain other man of divine spirit" (probably, as Paolo Rotta suggests, Hermes Trismegistus) have discovered that the ultimate knowledge is concealed from sight; yet to know that we do not know is in itself an attainment that can satisfy our desires. This is the meaning of "learned ignorance."[1] But, as Mr. Whitaker shrewdly remarks, "as with all who speak of the unknowable, we soon find that much concerning it is held to be known."[2] Cusanus applies to it the term of "the *maximum*"—that than which there can be nothing greater. It is absolutely one because it is all, and all things are in it because it is the greatest. Nothing is opposite to it, and therefore the minimum coincides with it. And here Cusanus warns us that we must not quibble over the literal interpretation of his words; in philosophical discussion we must try to understand the meaning rather than the grammar; and we shall need the advice when confronted with the quasi-mathematical paradoxes that follow. It is impossible, he says, to find two or more objects so similar that there shall not be other possible ones more similar up to infinity. Thus measure and measured will always be different: and hence the finite intellect cannot grasp the precise truth of things by similitude, since there is nothing exactly like the indivisible truth to measure that in which it consists. "We can only approach the truth by discovering that in its complete and absolute need for being identical with itself it is incomprehensible to us." What then becomes of our theories of knowledge? Cusanus holds that we can only attain the "maximum" in an incomprehensible manner—not through reasoning stage by stage. Along these lines knowledge is like a polygon inscribed within a circle: make as many angles as you please, the polygon can never approximate to the circle (the truth) except by identification with it, in which case to the ordinary reason it loses its polygonal character. But yet the coincidence of the maximum and the minimum, if we understand it aright, does demand as the condition of its fulfilment a superlative that is beyond all opposition, all affirmation and negation. This is not attainable by the ordinary processes of reasoning, which cannot combine contradictions. The identification of this *maximum* with the Absolute, with God, completes the dialectic of transcendence.[3]

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[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 51-65.

[2] By J. Ritter, *Docta Ignorantia; Die Theorie des Nichtwissens bei Nicolaus Cusanus*, 1927; J. Lenz, *Die docta ignorantia oder die mystische Gotteserkenntniss des Nikolaus Cusanus*, 1923; J. Ranft, *Schöpfer und Geschöpf nach Kardinal Nikolaus von Cusa*, 1924; Paolo Rotta, *Il Cardinale Nicolò di Cusa* (1928), p. 283 f.; T. Whitaker, "Nicholas of Cusa" in *Mind*, n.s., vol. 34 (Oct., 1925), 436-454, an account which has been largely followed here.

[3] The title is probably borrowed from St. Augustine, Ep. CXXX: "Est ergo in nobis quaedam, ut ita dicam, docta ignorantia, sed docta spiritu dei qui adjuvat infirmitatem nostram."

We may judge how contemporaries received this almost Hegelian theory of the "coincidentia oppositorum." John Wenck, the fiercest opponent of Cusanus, wrote a vigorous treatise against it, satirically entitled *De ignota litteratura.* "Hic homo parum curat de dictis Aristotelicis," he bitterly remarked. "If the "quidditas rerum" (the essence of things) cannot be understood, then their intellectual motion would be without a goal, and consequently no motion, and so infinite and useless, which would be to destroy the proper functions of the intellect."[1] We could never arrive at any scientific process, any theory of causation this way. Herr Stadelmann understands the Cusan thesis better than Wenck; yet he still condemns it as a sort of nihilism, not realising that to Cusanus the Absolute was not a barren formula; it made its way into the mind of Giordano Bruno, who along with "the divine Cusanus," as he termed Nicolas, came to hold the position that the universe is in some sense infinite; but whereas Bruno applied the concept of infinity to the spacial universe, Cusanus more cautiously envisaged only the universe of mind. And here we touch the point which Mr. Whitaker, in his recent analysis of the *De docta ignorantia*, has treated so well. "The paradoxes of Cusanus," he observes, "have a real basis in psychological thought. The insight out of which they spring is that mind at once contains infinite space as perceived or conceived, and itself does not occupy the minutest portion of space." We must not take the Absolute or the Infinite as spacial, but as metaphysical terms, referring to something of the nature of mind.[2] But Cusanus, like a mathematician, tries to give them geometrical or arithmetical form, and falls immediately into paradoxes. Yet if we look beyond the paradoxes, taking his advice, as Wenck did not do, about regarding the spirit rather than the letter, can this theory be regarded as sceptical, even within the strictest meaning of the term? And there is another point worthy of consideration. In the *De docta ignorantia*, as Paolo Rotta has pointed out, Cusanus shows his close affinities with Bonaventura.[3] He has tried to combine the mystic and the rational in the same manner as the Seraphic Doctor. Like Bonaventura he found that the highest truths were not attainable "per reductionem et resolutionem," but only, to use Bonaventura's expression in the Hexæmeron, through "contuitus" which is a spiritual process. Bonaventura speaks of an "ascensus in caligine nocturna et deliciosa illuminatio, ubi non intrat intellectus, sed solum affectus." The "caligo nocturna," we may surmise, is to Cusanus learned ignorance. Such phrases may be the commonplaces of the mystical experience; but Cusanus has the merit of being able to state intelligibly why it is that our intellectual faculties are in themselves unequal to the task of attaining to reality along the ordinary lines of approach; and perhaps to some his explanation may recall a similar darkness on the part of the Divine Poet:—

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[1] *De docta ignorantia*, ed P. Rotta (Bari, 1913), i, 1, 4. This ignorance can be the object of desire: "desideramus scire nos ignorare. . . . Nihil enim homini, etiam studiosissimo, in doctrina perfectius adveniet quam in ipsa ignorantia . . . doctissimum reperiri."

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 439.

[3] *De docta ignorantia*, ch. ii-iv.

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[1] Ed. E. Vansteenberghe, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters* (ed. C. Bäumker), VIII, Heft 6, p. 29.

[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 441-442.

[3] *Il Cardinale Nicolò di Cusa*, pp. 285-289.

Perchè, appressando sè al suo disire,
Nostro intelletto si profonda tanto,
Che retro la memoria non può ire.[1]

The attitude of Cusanus is extremely significant. It illustrates the fact that the leaders of the *devotio moderna*, the new, reforming tendencies in the religious life of Northern Europe, strove to escape the formulæ of the schools, and to resort, not to the application of normal dialectical methods to the problem of religion, but, without any underrating of the intellect, to the practice of a deep intellectual humility which has in it something of Eckhart's advice to those who could not understand his sermons:—

> "He said: to understand my sermons a man requires three things. He must have conquered strife, and be in contemplation of the highest good, and be satisfied to do God's bidding, and to be a beginner with beginners and naught himself, and be so master of himself as to be incapable of anger."[2]

It is doubtful whether Stadelmann's analysis would have taken its present form, had he attempted to understand more carefully the moral significance of the grounds on which *docta ignorantia* is advocated. It is an essential point in Cusanus' *coincidentia oppositorum* that the finite can only be thought of in reference to, and in its participation in, the Absolute. Between the finite (spacially conceived) and the infinite (conceived as idea) there is no logical divorce; there is, on the other hand, relationship. The same holds true in the practical sphere of morals. Erring man *can* participate in perfect being, and the effort towards participation, which to Cusanus is the moral ideal—an effort made by means of hard work, learning and study—is one that fills men with happiness. Here we can see how Cusanus is linked with the Brothers of the Common Life,[1] and when his sermons are fully printed, we shall understand all the more how his inspired diffidence could lead to activity, not resignation.

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[1] *Paradiso*, i, ll. 7-9.

[2] *Meister Eckhart* (Pfeiffer, 1857), tr. C. de B. Evans, p. 2.

II.

The humanism of the fifteenth century has been the subject of much recent investigation. The general tendency has been to show that the average humanist had far more points of contact with his medieval heritage than has commonly been supposed. An important article of Dr. Gerhard Ritter, written some seven years ago,[2] shows that in Germany, in contrast with Italy, the stronger manifestations of humanism took place within conservative scholastic circles. "There was no common front of the humanist enlightened against the scholastic men of darkness." The study of the reception of the new style in the German Universities (Vienna, Ingolstadt, Erfurt and Leipzig) leaves no doubt that the two kinds of teacher existed pretty amicably side by side, and that philosophers and theologians profited by the lectures on the ancient poets and orators. The difficulties, when they occurred, were not moral or intellectual, but administrative. The professors drew their income mostly from prebends, and the establishment of humanist "poets" or teachers of composition in the Universities was a luxury which might involve sharing these often meagre emoluments with the new teachers or at least making some contribution out of them. This naturally led to some resistance; but the problem was not infrequently solved through the action of local *Landesherren* who put up the money, and, in some cases, by the students themselves doing what they could to contribute. Without disturbing the ordinary curriculum, the humanist teachers gave their lectures at times which the students could conveniently manage. It would be rather like modern "extra-mural" work done within the University itself; and the University, needless to say, took steps to assure itself of the quality of the teachers. Thus in spite of financial obstacles there grew up in Germany what Dr. Ritter calls "a sort of scholastic-academic humanism," different from the purely rhetorical instruction of the Italian humanists.[1] This, as Paul Joachimsen has shown, had a marked influence on the writing of history;[2] but we can see it pre-eminently in treatises on classical philology, e.g. Rudolf Agricola's *Inventio dialectica*, where the old theological aims persist.[3] The new style is not to be pursued for its own sake, but on account of the help that it affords the mistress of the sciences; and its dependence upon authority and the inflexible way in which it models itself upon set examples show that in spirit, at all events, it belongs to the Middle Ages. For neither in Germany nor, in the main, south of the Alps do we yet find the general widening of horizons associated with the Renaissance in its full flower.

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[1] Ernst Hoffmann, *Das Universum des Nikolaus von Cues* (Sitzungsb. der Heidelb. Ak. der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. kl., 1929-30), pp. 11-12. "Alles Endliche steht zum Unendlichen unmittelbar. Aber wie das Lehrstück(the *Coincidentia oppositorum*) theoretisch nicht zur Skepsis führt, sondern wie der methodisch vom Absoluten genommene Abstand die relative Erkenntniss vielmehr als solche festigt und rechtfertigt, so führt der praktische Betracht des Lehrstücks keineswegs zu Quietismus oder Pessimismus, sondern Cusanus folgert in seinen Predigten das Gegenteil: weil sittlich die Teilhabe immer Aufgabe ist, so liegt in ihr das Motiv der Freiheit und Arbeit; und weil die arbeitende Erkenntnis Richtung erhält durch den Hinblick auf das Absolute, den alleinigen Mass-stab für alles Relative, so liegt in der Arbeit das Motiv der Freude.

[2] "Die geschichtliche Bedeutung der deutschen Humanismus," *Historische Zeitschrift,* 127 (1923), 393 f. Ritter's summing up of Burckhardt's influence (p. 396) is both clever and just; and his estimate of the effect upon Renaissance studies of the present attitude towards the Middle Ages is noteworthy. "In der Tat hat sich unser innerer Verhältnis zum Mittelalter, wie man weiss, innerhalt der letzten Generation vollig verschoben. Die gotische Kunst steht uns in gewissen Sinne heute viel näher als die klassizistischen Werke der Hochrenaissance. Dieser wechsel der geistigen Geschmacksrichtung—dessen tiefliegenden Ursachen hier nicht nachzugehen ist—hatte für das wissenschaftliche Verständnis der Renaissance sehr weitgehende Folgen." His early pages, which are also very valuable bibliographically, are devoted to these "results."

This fact, familiar to many, yet perhaps worth repeating, has been newly emphasized along other lines by Dr. Lynn Thorndike in his interesting, if a trifle over-emphatic, *Science and Thought in the Fifteenth Century*. Following in the path of Father Duhem, who in his *Système du Monde* and his *Études sur Léonard de Vinci* traced the continuity of scientific studies from the early Middle Ages to Copernicus, Dr. Thorndike is inclined to mistrust the use of the term Renaissance in the fifteenth century altogether. The humanist for him is the classical scholar who is occupied with his

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[1] Ritter, *op. cit.*, pp. 406-408.

[2] *Geschichtsauffassung und Geschichtsschreibung in Deutschland unter dem Einfluss der Humanismus*, i (1910).

[3] Ritter, *op. cit.*, p. 415.

elegantiæ, and has little contact with the improvements in the medicine, surgery and the scientific studies of the time. He brings this out in his examination of manuscript treatises on the controversy of Medicine versus Law in Florence, couched in dialogue form. The *Tractatus de nobilitate legum et medicinæ* composed by the humanist Coluccio Salutati in 1399 is in the nature of a reply to a work by Master Bernard, a physician of Florence, who had urged the superiority of medicine. Salutati complains that Bernard is so devoted to study that he regards all other human activities of no account, whereas he (Salutati) denies that speculation is the ultimate end of man ; on the other hand, he refuses to accept Bernard's opinion that science deals with particulars, asserting that all science, properly conceived, is concerned with incorruptible and eternal matters. The trouble with medicine is its empirical and experimental character, originating, he supposes, in its connection with magic and the empirical use of remedies centuries before Hippocrates developed its logical side. The law came direct from God amid thunders upon Sinai and on other occasions. The law has never departed from reason (here we catch an echo of St. Thomas's *Secunda secundæ*—law as a rational norm) ; but the medical art is always changing ; it keeps growing "by magic inventions of remedies and daily experiments." Can medicine then be called a science at all ? Bernard is wrong in saying that law is not a science "since it proceeds by definitions and divisions, and since it has its universals which cannot be otherwise." Here then is one of the founders of Italian humanism taking up the a priori and theoretical conception of science generally charged to the account of medieval scholasticism.[1] Now it is easy to see why the early humanists tended to lump genuine medical studies together with quackery—there was indeed a good deal of intermingling. An anonymous surgical treatise of the early sixteenth century, examples of which, analysed by Dr. Thorndike,[2] are preserved at Munich and Vienna, gives a most entertaining account of the practice of the contemporary barbers-surgeon. In the closing chapter on growths the treatise tells of a baker who had on his right arm a growth of melancholic complexion, hard and large and hairy, in which he felt no pain when it was struck with a stone. The author of the treatise was unwilling to accept the case, "but a certain barber undertook to cure it and killed him." Yet, as Dr. Thorndike points out, the enlightened author himself is not above recommending the blood of a goat—which was supposed to break even a diamond—for the cure of stone and prescribing that the animal be killed in August when the moon begins to be full, the goat to be three or four years old and to have eaten nothing but diuretic and aperitive herbs for fifteen days before its death.[1]

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[1] *Science and Thought in the Fifteenth Century* (Columbia Univ. Press, 1929), pp. 24-58.

[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 81-108.

Dr. Thorndike does not confine himself to the scientific treatises; he advances to a discussion of some of the sources underlying fifteenth-century Platonism. He analyses two Florentine treatises on Ideas, one by Niccolò da Foligno, the humanist friend of Lorenzo de' Medici, the other by an anonymous writer whom he is inclined to identify with Niccolò himself. A close examination of these shows that neither, among its many citations, includes a single specific reference to any work by Plato: and that with the exception of Porphyry and Macrobius, no Platonists or neo-Platonists are cited directly. The anonymous writer betrays the fact that he approaches the subject via the commentary of Averroes on Aristotle's *Metaphysics*. "Plato's fundamental propositions for the Ideas are these, according to Averroes' thirtieth and thirty-first comments on the seventh book of the *Metaphysics*. . . ." The author has read Aristotle and his commentators, especially Alexander of Hales, Albert and Aquinas, and medical authorities like Galen, Hippocrates, and Avicenna; but not Plato directly—or so it seems. Yet, as Dr. Thorndike remarks, if we identify him, as probability indicates, with Niccolò da Foligno, it certainly does seem rather remarkable that this humanist "should have no hesitation about addressing the patron of the Platonic Academy at Florence and the friend of Ficino on the subject."[2] The point is interesting: but Dr. Thorndike surely goes too far in adding: "this suggests what a shallow pretense most of the so-called Platonism of fifteenth-century Italians and the Mediceans must have been."[3] This both assumes that it is not possible to learn much of what Plato thought from Aristotle (whereas, on the contrary, it certainly is, even granted that the *Metaphysics* contain a good many unworthy criticisms of Plato), and furthermore underestimates the Platonism of Ficino, which is not open to these objections. Yet there is much truth in the author's main contention that what is changing in the fifteenth-century humanism is the style rather than the matter. The humanist's library is not barren of the Fathers. It will contain the theology of the Middle Ages as well as the *exempla* from the classics. Both the collection of books that Cusanus left to his native town[1] as well as those given by Walter de Grey to Balliol[2] help to illustrate this. Stylistically, the transformation has been going on for as much as two hundred years. Recent research, like that of Dr. Haskins, on the *Ars dictaminis* shows how constant was the quest for more refined and elaborate methods of expression. At the outset it was the ear rather than the heart that was listening to new things. But in Northern Europe there were signs of a deeper movement that claims our attention.

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[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 98.

[2] Thorndike, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

[3] *Ibid.*

III.

The literature of the mystical and reforming movements during the early fifteenth century is large,[3] but still mainly in the stage of monographs. It has not been fully recognized how far-reaching was the change of spirit to which the efforts of devout laity were directed. Concentration on individual mystics like Tauler and Suso has tended to shut out the activities of the Brothers of the Common Life from view, and in spite of the work of Albert Hyma much more study of texts and treatises will have to be done, before the main lines of this extremely important subject are drawn. In this country, if Miss Deanesley and Dr. Workman be excepted, students of language and literature have done more to enlighten us here than the professional historians; for the devotional movement which had as its early prophet Richard Rolle[1] and could bear even Wyclif, the unorthodox child of religious renaissance, in its current, led to an outpouring of native verse and prose that scarcely ended with the magnificent writing of Sir Thomas More, but ran well on into the later sixteenth century ; while in art it was matched by a small figure sculpture, mainly in alabaster, which was prized throughout Europe for its tenderness and beauty. England had its " Christian Renaissance " too. But on one phase of the practical reforming movement that grew out of the Great Schism there is as yet practically no work at all. Apart from one scholar's studies on a very interesting branch of the subject, the study of Anglo-Papal relations in the first part of the fifteenth century has been neglected,[2] and that despite the stimulating and suggestive questions asked nearly thirty years ago by Johannes Haller in his remarkable *Papsttum und Kirchenreform*. These queries might well have provoked replies from England in the same measure as they succeeded in doing from France and Germany. Is it really the case, Haller asked, that the Papal administration in the fourteenth and fifteenth century was so radically bad ? Where lay the weak points ? Was the Curia in fact corrupt through and through ? Are not the reproaches of its opponents guilty of exaggeration ? Did the state of affairs in the Curia have so great an effect upon the Church as a whole, that men were right in holding the Papacy primarily responsible for the decline of ecclesiastical institutions ? " Only the documents can give us the answer," Haller replied.[3] He wrote his book (the first volume alone appeared) before Mollat's researches into the system employed by the Papacy in the collation of benefices had laid bare the ill effects of the practice of Papal reservations upon the Church as a whole;[1] and along these lines his work surely needs supplementing and testing from the English side.[2] In one particular respect Haller's suggestions have been fruitful and interesting —his investigation of the compromises made by England and France with the Papacy in the matter of collation. He drew attention to the need of seeking the origin of the system of Concordats or agreements arrived at between the national states and the Papacy in the positive enactments of the two countries during the period of the Schism; in the case of France, in the ordinance of 18 February 1407, just after the declaration of neutrality, in that of England, in the carrying out and defence of the re-enacted Statute of Provisors (1390).[3] The latter he examined in a striking paper with the aid of Martin V's briefs written during the pontificate of Archbishop Chichele.[4] The general effect of these researches has been to show the importance of the English attitude towards the Curia as a factor in the European situation. It is doubtful whether Haller can be followed in his main contention, namely that Gallicanism was in effect an English product by origin.[5] But there can be no overpraising the book for its suggestive and stimulating treatment of the problems.

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[1] Excellently catalogued by Dr. J. Marx, *Verzeichnis der Handschriften-Sammlung des Hospitals zu Cues* (Trier, 1905). Cf. Rotta, *op cit.*, c. x, "La biblioteca del Cusano."

[2] This is, of course, on the assumption that the inscriptions of the "second librarian" are correct (e.g. in Coll. Ball. MS. CLXIV, a volume of sermons preached at Constance, "'Liber domus de Balliolo in Oxon' ex dono Willelmi Gray Eliensis Episcopi"). Mr. R. A. B. Mynors tells me that he is not certain of all these attributions.

[3] See the recent bibliographies in A. Hyma, *The Christian Renaissance* (1925), A. C. Flick, *The Decline of the Medieval Church* (1930), and the selected list in Schnürer, *op. cit.*, iii, 435-446.

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[1] The considerable extent and wide distribution of the literature on Rolle can be studied in Chapter II (pp. 22-50) of, and the Index of MSS. (p. 563 f.) in, Miss Hope Allen's *Writings ascribed to Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole* (1927).

[2] The branch referred to is the English attitude towards the Papacy in the matter of the alien priories, on which see Dr. Rose Graham, *English Ecclesiastical Studies*, chapters iv, v, and ix. Since this was written news has arrived that Professor W. E. Lunt and his colleagues are contemplating a series of publications on Anglo-Papal relations. Apart from Dr. Lunt's works on Papal taxation in England, his well-known paper " The Financial System of the Medieval Papacy in the light of recent literature " (*Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Feb., 1909, pp. 251-295) showed, more than twenty years ago, how great a field lies before American, as well as English scholars, in this direction.

[3] *Papsttum und Kirchenreform*, I, vii.

Haller, however, became too busy with *Quellen* to follow up his important work—the first modern book to attempt a scientific conspectus of the religious position. He may have found, like others, that there was too much to be done in analysing and publishing the acts of the Councils. This has been, for Constance, the majestic work of Heinrich Finke and his school, who have been largely occupied with the chronology of, and the constitutional questions that occupied, that Council, while Haller on his side busied himself with the notaries' manuals of the Basel assembly, which enable us to see from day to day the work of the deputations and to appreciate how much the participants were attempting in the way of administration. Publications of the *Acta*, together with French and Italian manuscript sources, served as the back-bone of Noel Valois' history of the relations of the Pope and the Council. But neither here nor in the biographies nor separate monographs on curial administration as it emerged from the Conciliar Movement can we find fully satisfactory answers to the questions which Haller originally raised. It is pretty certain that none will be given until episcopal and archiepiscopal administration in its various aspects has been studied more closely, with the same care that Dr. Coulton is giving to monastic,[1] and the evidence of the bishops' Registers—especially the record of visitations, on the excellent model of Professor Hamilton Thompson's volumes in the Lincolnshire Record Society—adduced to supplement that of the letters from the Lateran and Vatican *Regesta*. The analysis of the valuable Calendars of Papal documents alone is not the clue to the whole position. For the history of royal patronage, we need the record of pleas in the King's Bench—and here, it may be remarked, the ground has already been partly prepared by Sir Robert Cotton himself in the Cleopatra volumes which he appears personally to have compiled by collecting and inserting contemporary copies of original material and by setting his transcribers to excerpt and arrange under their respective years cases from the *coram rege* rolls.[2] We need as full as possible a list of manuscript treatises on reform written, or sermons on that subject preached, by Englishmen, of whom men like Walter Dysse and the Oxford doctor Ullerston, Robert Hallam's friend, deserve special study;[1] we need work on the reforming activities of the English Carmelites; a comprehensive survey of the Conciliar material in our various repositories; investigations of contemporary formularies and letter-books containing details of Church policy;[2] lists of the English proctors, and, when possible, studies of English papal officials resident at the Court of Rome, some of whose letters have fortunately come down to us;[3] and from the Vatican archives we need adequate calendaring of the English Petitions to Rome after the ending of the Council of Constance,[4] of English payments to the *Camera Apostolica* contained in the *Obligationes et solutiones* of that body,[5] of English cases in the records of the Rota (after 1464), to add to the material already gleaned in the Roman Transcripts preserved at the Public Record Office. These are a few desiderata: they are all practicable subjects, given the patience and that knowledge of the background which no worker in this field can forego.

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[1] *La Collation des benefices ecclésiastiques à l'époque des Papes d'Avignon*, 1921; "L'application du droit de régale spirituelle en France du xii au xiv siècle," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, t. xxv (1929), nos. 3 and 4; cf. Ch. Samaran and G. Mollat, *La fiscalité pontificale en France au 14^e siècle* (1905).

[2] At present there is only the excellent paper by Miss A. P. Deeley, "Papal Provision and Royal Rights of Patronage in the Early Fourteenth Century," *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XLIII (Oct., 1928), 497-527.

[3] Haller, *op. cit.*, 278-308, 443-446.

[4] *England und Rom unter Martin V* (Quellen und Forschungen aus ital. Arch. und Bibl., VIII, 250-304). For a criticism of his theory of Chichele's sensitiveness to parliament, cf. A. Zellfelder, *England und das Basler Konzil* (1913), 10 n., 11 n.

[5] As expressed in his *op. cit.*, 465-479.

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[1] Miss Irene Churchill has recently completed a doctoral thesis on the administration of the Province of Canterbury; and some of the material on which her conclusions have been based should be more generally available when the Register of Archbishop Chichele (1414-43) is published, as it is hoped, at the Quincentenary of All Souls College.

[2] MSS. Cotton Cleopatra E. II, E. III, headed by Cotton, the " State of the Church." The chronology of the documents inserted or transcribed is often very faulty. Sir Robert Cotton, as Valois has shown (*La France et le grand Schisme*, iv, 517-520), was not above ascribing to the reign of Henry V, petitions to the Papacy and instructions thereupon to English ambassadors, which date from the reign of Richard II (Cleop. E. II, fols. 111, 112).

It may perhaps be useful to give some examples from one of these sources that illustrates not only the relations of Church and State in

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[1] C.C.C. Oxon, MS. CLXXXIII, fols. 122 f., cf. Coxe, *Catalogus*, ii, 73; Trin. Coll. Camb. MS. 359, fols. 2-16 (M. R. James, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Trinity College, Cambridge*, i, 487), cf. Cave, *Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum historia literaria* (1743), ii, 110. For the sermons preached by Englishmen, cf. especially Royal MS. Appendix no. 7, fols. 6, 19-26; Coll. Ball. MSS. CLXIV, CLXV A.; Finke, *Acta Concilii Constanciensis*, ii. How much light can be thrown on individual preachers is shown in the case of Scotsmen by Professor J. H. Baxter in his edition of the *Copiale Prioratus Sancti-Andree*, Appendix nos. 29, 30 and pp. 478-9 (for Thomas Livingstone); App. no. 27 (William Croyser); App. no. 26 (Quintin Folkherd, cf. p. 444).

[2] E.g. Royal MS. 10 B. IX; Cotton, Cleopatra, C. IV; Harleian MS. 431.

[3] Miss D. Wolff is attempting this in the case of William Swan; for his letters cf. p. 406 below.

[4] These are often of considerable interest, for the light they throw on the Institutions in English Episcopal Registers. On the petition generally, cf. Gisbert Brom, *Guide aux Archives du Vatican*; and Father Bruno Kattenbach, *Specimina Supplicationum ex Registris Vaticanis* (1927), Pars I, Prolegomena et Tabulæ.

[5] I am greatly indebted to Miss Annie Cameron for showing me the transcripts of Scottish entries of this class which she has been compiling during the last two years. The bulk relate to the payment of the *servitia minuta* and *communia*. When will work of this kind be undertaken by English students for England?

England but also the attitude of this country to the Papacy. They come from the letter-book of William Swan, Papal notary, a Rochester man provided with a canonry at Chichester, who was permanently resident at the Curia from about 1406 for more than thirty years. Through Swan's hands went a great quantity of English business at the Curia, and his book, preserved in the Bodleian, is the record of his correspondence and of various legal memoranda which he made at the time on points arising out of the cases. He seems to have given quite plain and practical advice to his correspondents. It was not always to their advantage to sue in the Roman Curia ; realities had to be taken into account. Quite early in his sojourn there he had occasion to give advice to one Thomas de Toueton (Towton) who was appointed by the Crown to the prebend of Stillington and was having his position threatened by an opponent, John Fraunceys, collated to the same prebend by the Dean and chapter of York. He advises Thomas that a speedy prosecution of the case in the king's court before the royal justices or by the patria would best meet the case, "and so, if you gain your end, you will secure sufficient remedy and that by royal law against John Fraunceys." If, he says, you try to bring this suit in the Roman Curia, that court will not recognize the royal title, as being contrary to Papal constitutions, because it is founded on *jus temporale ;* and you will be incurring great expense which otherwise you might avoid. Bring the case into the *Curia regis*, and your adversary will not continue his suit in the Court of Rome ; for if it is continued you will be able to get the king's writ directed to Frauncey's bidding him to return home under pain of life and property, to answer such great contempt of the king's regalia ; "and this," he adds, "I have seen happen frequently."[1] Fraunceys persisted (Thomas evidently took Swan's advice) and was served with a writ of *Premunire ;*[2] no doubt he was summoned home, after the manner of the bishops who were carrying to Rome the protest of their colleagues against the Provisors Statute of 1390.

The second case is even more illuminating. The Abbot of St.

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[1] Bodleian Library, MS. Arch. Seld. B. 23, fol. 23d ; "adversarius vester nullatenus continuabit processum suum in Romana Curia et si continuetur aliqualiter processum suum [*sic*], poteritis habere breve regium sibi dirigendum ut ad partes [sc. suas] sub pena forisfacture vite et bonorum veniat responsurus super tanto contemptu facto contra regaliam regis, et hec fieri vidi sepius."

[2] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, *1408-13*, 27.

Anthony of Vienne has collated one Adam de Olton to the governorship and custody of St. Anthony's hospital in Threadneedle Street.[1] But the commandery, which as an alien property had been granted in 1382 by Richard II to Michael de la Pole, was at the time occupied by John Macclesfield the elder,[2] who held it by royal appointment,[3] although in 1393 he had received the grant of it *in commendam*.[4] Olton had evidently failed to get possession, and now in 1417[5] brought a suit against Macclesfield in the *Curia*, in reality, it appears, on behalf of the abbot of Vienne, on the ground that the London house belonged to the abbot's collation. The facts were, of course, that the commandery had been regarded as an alien priory, confiscated and treated as a free hospital under Crown gift. Macclesfield, threatened in his possession, sends Swan (at Constance) a memorandum upon the legal position of the House. The hospital of St. Anthony, he says (without strict regard to the truth), was never founded " by religious of St. Anthony but by the citizens of London and was and is in the king's patronage, and belonged and belongs to his collation." On the strength of Macclesfield's notes Swan seems to have drawn up a historical memorandum on the house and to have submitted it for confirmation to Macclesfield, who returned it, saying that all the articuli in it were correct, save one in which it was stated that the son of Michael de la Pole who formerly held the house was a *domicellus laicus :* he was a clerk at Cambridge and therefore the article was erroneous. So far so good. But in the Roman Curia nothing could be done without money ; moreover, Macclesfield was evidently too slow in returning the memorandum, for his next letter to Swan shows that the notary had complained bitterly of his delay in this regard. " You have said that I am greatly to blame, and that if my case, nay rather the king's, falls to the ground, it will be my fault and mine alone, because to sustain my defence in the said cause you had neither gold nor silver nor muniments nor necessary information to support the case ; and [you say that] the fact that the information was so long delayed was due to my negligence and slowness." Then, with a rising mixture of dudgeon and alarm : " You tell me that the case will probably fail. Kindly take note that in this event I am entirely innocent, and by God's grace I shall be excused before my lord the king and his Council, if the crown suffers damage. My house of St. Anthony belongs to the Crown, not because it is an alien priory, but by royal right ; and it is against the laws and statutes of the kingdom of England and derogatory not only to the king's dignity but to all the other princes and magnates of his kingdom that the right of patronage over any ecclesiastical benefice belonging to them should be discussed outside the king's court and in the Court of Rome. But supposing that the king's enemies do, to my eternal confusion and shame, win their case, great strife will within a short space arise between our lord Pope and our lord king (the repeated *nostrum* is interesting) : and know for certain that all the greater prelates, noblemen and more powerful lords of the King's Council are perfectly well aware that I am thus wrongfully vexed at the instance of Adam of

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[1] The history of the house is dealt with by Tanner, *Notitia Monastica*, ed. Nasmith, VIII, Middlesex, no. 28; *Vict. County Hist.*, London, i, 568; and recently by Miss Rose Graham, "The Order of St. Antoine de Viennois, and its English Commandery, St. Anthony, Threadneedle Street," *Archæological Journal*, 1927, pp. 341-406.

[2] On the two Macclesfields, cf. T. F. Tout, *Chapters in Medieval Administrative History*, IV, 386 n. 1. The younger, a clerk in the diocese of Lichfield, was one of Richard's secretaries.

[3] Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 359.

[4] *Cal. Papal Letters*, V, 549. This was probably to get round the fact that he was only a secular clerk.

[5] Vatican Archives, Reg. Suppl. 105, fol. 102 d. "Beatissime pater: Dudum preceptoria generali domus sancti Antonii Londoniensis ordinis sancti Augustini, a monasterio Sancti Antonii Viennensis diocesis dicti ordinis dependentis tunc per obitum quondam Richardi Bugons canonici dicti monasterii et ipsius domus preceptoris extra Romanam Curiam defuncti vacante, Hugo Abbas monasterii predicti praefatam praeceptoriam deuoto uestro Ade de Olton canonico expresse professo dicti monasterii auctoritate ordinaria contulit et de illa Ecclesia prouidit. Timet tamen dictus Adam collationem et prouisionem predictas ex certis causis viribus non subsistere. Quapropter supplicat sanctitati vestre humiliter dictus Adam quatenus sibi de preceptoria predicta, que curata est, cuius fructus etc., deductis oneribus, Quadraginta marcharum sterlingorum communi extimatione valorem annuum non excedunt, siue premisso sive alio quouis modo aut ex alterius cuiuscunque persona etiam seu per constitutionem Execrabilis vacet aut specialiter uel generaliter dispositioni apostolice reseruata uel ad eandem sedem deuoluta existat, et super ea inter eundem H. Abbatem, et quendam Johannem Macclesfeld, qui secularis merus existit, Lichfeldensis diocesis eiusdem preceptoris occupatorem et detentorem lis in vestro palacio causarum apostolico pendeat indecisa, cuius statum habere placeat pro expresso, dignemini de nouo misericorditer prouidere. Alioquin collationem et prouisionem predictas et quecunque inde secuta rata habentes et grata, ea dignemini ex certa scientia confirmare, supplentes omnes defectus si qui forsan intraverint in eisdem. . . ."

Olton on behalf of the Abbot and Convent of the monastery of St. Anthony at Vienne to the prejudice and disherison of the King's crown ; they know that a remedy will be provided by our said lord king and by themselves ; for all the prelates, noblemen and lords have written to our lord king and have received from him a reply to the effect that although my adversaries prevail against me, to my perpetual confusion, they yet will gain no execution of judgment against me in this country nor *a fortiori* against the king, nor will they bear any gold nor silver out of the country."[1] The tone of the letter may have amused Swan ; but he was probably used to the situation. Macclesfield held the administration till 1423 when, on his death, it passed to his adversary Adam de Olton ; but the right of the Abbot of Vienne to collate was at an end.

These remarks have, I fear, been largely in the nature of bibliography rather than of criticism : but before we can work in any field, we must know something about the nature of the soil. I hope later to be allowed to deal more in detail with certain classes of material that have been treated all too cursorily here.

[1] MS. Arch. Seld. B. 23, fols. 92-93. "Scientes pro certo quod omnes maiores prelati ac principes et potentiores domini de consilio regis bene sunt informati quomodo ad excitationem et procurationem Ade de Elton (*sic*) pro Abbate et conventu Monasterii Sancti Antonii in Vienna iniuste vexatus sum in preiudicium et exheredacionem corone regis, et ut per dictum dominum nostrum Regem ac per eos prouideatur de remedis in hac parte, scripserunt ita omnes prelati principes et domini eidem domino nostro Regi, et ab eo exinde responsum habuerunt, quod licet aduersarii mei contra me habere valeant victoriam ad perpetuam confusionem meam, quod absit, executionem tamen nullam contra me hic in regno isto nec a multo fortiori contra Regem habere possunt. . . ."

WILLIAM CAXTON, WRITER AND CRITIC.

BY W. WRIGHT ROBERTS, B.A.,

ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

TO regard the pioneer as a specialist is easy, but generally wrong. More and more is it likely to be wrong as we think of past ages, and see fields of human effort, now sharply defined, dwindling and fading into each other. Caxton, who first brought the printer's craft into England, has been kept strictly in one cabinet of the museum of the past. Even Blades, our chief authority, has little to tell of Caxton the man of letters. Yet to know that products of his press are among the book-hunter's tallest game is for some people hardly inspiring. Surely, were he back in the flesh, our bargains and record prices would shock his fine humility. There would be scope, too, for his humour, which peeps out so quietly here and there. The two qualities blend in the advice he gave to readers of the *Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers*: if they dislike Socrates on women, let them "wyth a penne race it out or ellys rente the leef out of the booke." Words to send up the eyebrows of the modern bibliophile! Yet neither humility nor humour is the deepest note in Caxton. It is heard, once out of many times, at the beginning of his preface to the *Canterbury Tales*: "Grete thankes, lawde and honour ought to be gyven unto the clerkes, poetes and historiographs, that have wreton many noble bokes of wysedom." Let who will call this a high-sounding platitude; it reveals the motive power of Caxton's life.

He was before all else a servant of literature. Zeal for his "clerks, poets and historiographs" transfigured the manifold toils of his career. His obvious achievement is the printing and publishing of seventy-one works—about a hundred separate editions—in seventeen years. If some were small service-books or manuals, others were immense compilations like the *Golden Legend* or *Polychronicon*. It should also be remembered that with him, publishing implied editing, and, in about one third of his enterprises, translation as well. Prefaces and epilogues, often of generous length, accompany most of the works he edited. Further, we are bound to assume that his assistants did not lighten for him very appreciably the mechanical toil of his slow-working press.

The mind reels at such industry ; and it is amusing to remember that the first notion suggested in Caxton's earliest preface is the fear that he might become lazy. He also thought he was growing old, at fifty-two. His literary achievement was the tardy, slow-ripened fruit of middle-age. A successful business career lay behind him ; singular good fortune had preserved him through troubled times. Born "in Kent in the Weald," probably in 1422, and apprenticed to a wealthy mercer, in 1463 he had become governor of the English Merchant Adventurers trading with the Low Countries. For thirty years he lived in Bruges, a city as rich in culture as it was important in commerce. In the libraries of noble patrons he fed the flame of his enthusiasm for letters. Favoured by Charles the Bold, by the Duchess Margaret of Burgundy, by her brother King Edward IV. and the Yorkist aristocracy, Caxton could soon forsake commerce for literature. He came back to England in 1476 a man of wealth, and master of the craft of printing. The great project of his life was no doubt forming itself in his mind ; to print the works he and his friends loved best ; to multiply in England the books he deemed most worthy his countrymen's knowledge.

His taste and his learning have been persistently decried. Less than a century ago the prevailing judgment on them was still the one pronounced by Gibbon : "Caxton was reduced to comply with the vicious taste of his readers ; to satisfy the nobles with treatises on heraldry, hawking and the game of chess, and to amuse the popular credulity with romances of fabulous knights and legends of more fabulous saints. . . . The world is not indebted to England for one first edition of a classic author." All of which has the true "sneering essence" and imperial roll. That Caxton never issued, to our knowledge, anything about heraldry or hawking is a minor point. Nor could Gibbon be expected to have much use for unauthenticated knights, still less for saints. His last sentence, with its implications, is most to our purpose. No Englishman, it appears, can be a classic author. Chaucer, for example, was in eighteenth-century eyes

"Gothic," "low," tedious and pedantic, before the labours of Tyrwhitt revived his fame. So blind can one age be to the things held precious by another. Caxton twice edited the *Canterbury Tales;* the second edition, from a better text he had unexpectedly found, was published solely in justice to his author, with a clear prospect of monetary loss. He gave to the world Chaucer's *Troylus and Creseyde*, his *Book of Fame* and translation of Boethius, and Malory's *Morte d'Arthur.* With a sureness of judgment unique in his day he ranked Chaucer above Gower and Lydgate, yet issued, in fairness, some of the best specimens of their work. He made, to be sure, a clean sweep of pre-Chaucerian English, declaring simply that it was "rude speche and incongrue." But nobody in his day would have troubled to read an obsolete vernacular. His own century, the sordid time of defeats in France and the Wars of the Roses, was no forcing-ground of literary genius. And some of the best writing it had produced, such as the capital prose of the disputatious Pecock, had been condemned by the Church; Caxton would never have touched it. On the whole it is hard to see what better choice of English works he could have made.

Of his education we know nothing, save the bare fact that his parents "in his youth set him to school." The man who translated from the French a whole body of prose romance, besides other works, knew the language, by the standard of his times, very well indeed. That standard, of course, condoned inaccuracy in detail, and much interpolation and omission. During his stay in the Low Countries he learned Dutch enough to translate *Reynard the Fox;* his English version of the fable long remained popular. His work on the *Legenda Aurea*, and on other Latin books, argues at least a tolerable knowledge of that language; though when he can get French versions of Latin he uses them with suspicious readiness. His paraphrasing, through the French, of *De Senectute* and *De Amicitia*, his retailing of mediæval perversions of the tales of Jason, Æneas and Troy, must have seemed in Gibbon's eyes poor second-hand achievement. It all shows, in fact, sound common sense. Caxton knew that texts of the Greek and Latin classics had poured recently from the Continental presses, and poured much more quickly than they had been sold. Even had he been an Aldus Manutius he would have cried such wares in vain in the wilderness of fifteenth-century England. But by publishing vernacular versions he prepared, humbly enough, for the tardy flowering of the English Renaissance. For he helped to awaken, in the growing public that could read, some interest in classic story and eloquence.

He is not, then, to be reckoned a scholar, but a shrewd and dogged disseminator. Yet neither his own blunders nor the bad cultural influences of his time could overlay his fundamental sureness of taste. Among the works we have so far mentioned there is not one without literary import. And others that he issued, of ready appeal to his public—the religious manuals, the primers, the great body of romances—these were at any rate in English which the people could learn to read, in an English, too, which his own press established.

That he went right in this matter is one of his chief claims to our gratitude. English prose of the fifteenth century was for the most part an unlovely thing. On its popular levels it betrayed the welter of dialect still prevalent in common speech. As Caxton says, it was "broad and rude." The learned, when they stooped to it from their Latin, did it doubtful service, for in their hands it lapsed readily into vicious pedantries and affectations. It had found no norm, no safe standard of any kind; only a genius like Malory could make it an instrument of literature. With much humility and embarrassment Caxton tried to pull the language into shape, expounding his difficulties at length in the preface to *Eneydos*. Here he tells the well-known story of the English mercer who, becalmed off the Foreland on his voyage to the Low Countries, came ashore and asked for "eggys" at an inn. "And the goode wyf answerde that she coude speke no frenshe." Nor did she understand until someone said "eyren." "Loo," exclaims Caxton, "what shoulde a man in thyse dayes now wryte, egges or eyren, certaynly it is harde to playse every man." The salient parts of his preface are these. He is writing of the French version of the *Æneid* which he translated:

"When I sawe the fayr & straunge termes therin, I doubted that it sholde not please some gentylmen which late blamed me sayeng that in my translacyons I had over curyous termes whiche coude not be understande of comyn peple, and desired me to use olde and homely termes in my translacyons, and fayn wolde I satysfye every man. . . . And som honest and grete clerkes have ben wyth me and desired me to wryte the moste curyous termes that I coude fynde. And thus bytwene playn rude, & curyous, I stande abasshed. . . . And for as moche as this present booke is not for a rude uplondyssh man to laboure therin ne rede it, but only for a clerke & a noble gentylman . . . therfor in a meane bytwene bothe I have reduced & translated this sayd booke in to our englysshe not over rude ne curyous but in suche termes as shall be understanden by goddys grace accordynge to my copye."

Clearly, the language is in the melting-pot. Caxton, by virtue of his new craft, has more influence over the eventual product than any other man of his time. Is he to load English with Latinisms, and thus follow the trend of the "Oxford" or clerical dialect, rife since the days of Wiclif? Or Gallicise freely, as his friends at Court, readers of his translated romances, would like him to do? Or, perhaps, keep the language as Pecock would have had it, Teutonic to the point of uncouthness? "Fain would he satisfy every man"; that being impossible, he will follow the *via media* laid down by his own common sense and habit of speech. The bulk of his output, including of course all his own translation, is in the "London" dialect, that of his own social class, the dialect which, also used by the law and the legislature, had become the powerful rival of the Oxford type of English. This London dialect, firmly established by Caxton's press, is the ancestor of our modern speech. By great good fortune it held the mean best between Teutonic and Latin elements; from these two founts, as we know, English at its healthiest has always drawn impartially. Thus "in a mean" between Saxon and Latin, as in a mean between "rude" and "curious," the language was henceforth to develop. Not that Caxton posed as dictator; not that he attained his ideal consistently in his own writing. We shall soon see how the plain terms fit for the "rude uplandish man" flow more happily from his pen than does the ornate English which he deems proper for a "clerk" or a "noble gentleman." Yet his instinct was right; his quiet, accommodating, amused common sense was more wholesome for our language than the whims or the theories of a scholar might have been. Half-consciously, at a critical time in the history of English, he hit on a vital principle of its life and health.

Further claims have been made for him by the least irresponsible of judges. Mr. Saintsbury finds in Caxton's prefaces and epilogues "probably the first body of critical observations in English." That this body, though interesting, is in his view "rather infantine" need not deter us from a look at it. To change the figure, our literary criticism springs from the shyest of fountain-heads; it is overhung and shut in by irrelevancies dear to the mediæval mind. We must work our way through these; in the end we shall find the pure fount, though it be but a trickle.

Conscious appreciation of æsthetic values in literature scarcely existed in the Middle Ages. Living on the confines of the old and the new way of thought, Caxton is mediæval, for the most part, in his deference to authority. The hand of the Church lay heavy on literature; for Caxton the Church and her teachings are an infallible court of appeal. In season and out of season he moralises. Does a book, in one way or another, tend to edification and uphold orthodox doctrine? If so, then it is good. His critical faculty works most readily on the moral plane. Now and then, as in his preface to the *Morte d'Arthur*, he is within hail of æsthetic criticism; his enthusiasm for these "noble histories" of chivalry, so "glorious and shining," is unmistakable. Yet even here he drives home their moral application, with a simple force characteristic of many another of his preachments, and of countless others written in his age:

"I, accordyng to my copye, have doon sette it in enprynte, to the entente that noblemen may see and lerne the noble acts of chyvalrye, the jentyl and vertuous dedes, that somme knyghtes used in tho days, by whyche they came to honour, and how they that were vycious were punysshed and often put to shame and rebuke. . . . For herein may be seen noble chyvalrye, curtosye, humanyte, frendlynesse, hardynesse, love, frendshyp, cowardyse, murdre, hate, vertue, synne. Doo after the good, and leve the evyl, and it shal brynge you to good fame and renommee."

The style of this little sermon is as clear and direct as its matter; although the list of virtues and vices, and the pleonasm at the end, betray Caxton's usual weakness in the management of abstract terms. With him, the interaction of matter and style is peculiarly important, and cannot be overlooked in our search for his critical faculty. Once only, in his many sermons, does he raise his voice above the quiet tone of the last quotation. In the preface to the *Order of Chivalry* he is clearly indignant at the state of courtly society at the end of the

Wars of the Roses. He would bring back, if he could, the chivalry of Malory at its best, and that in sordid times when little but the show of any such thing remained. He demands of the knights of England, "what do ye now, but go to the baynes & playe atte dyse? . . . Leve this, leve it, and rede the noble volumes of saynt graal, of lancelot, of galaad, of Trystram. . . . Allas what doo ye but slepe & take ease and ar al disordred fro chyvalry." Is there a knight now, he wonders, who "knoweth his horse and his horse him?" The slogging fervour and raciness of this passage anticipate Bishop Latimer. And if Caxton the moralist is dwarfed by the greater stature of that master of plain English, Latimer, after all, had professional thunderbolts at his command. Caxton, a modest layman, for once let indignation get the better of him, and then, significantly, wrote some of the best plain prose of his life.

Moral criticism shades easily into satire of the earnest, indignant sort. Yet Caxton, in an age rife with satire, subversive and manifold, had only the gentlest vein of this quality in him. He is quite without venom; the only satire he knows is a pretty teasing humour. This lets in light on his mind. No man with humour is hopeless as a critic. From time to time, and often unexpectedly, Caxton's face brightens with the twinkle of his master Chaucer. Gravely he tells his simple readers how they are to take *Reynard the Fox*, how they can profit by its lessons. Then he adds: "If any thing be said or wreton herin that may greve or dysplease ony man, blame not me but the foxe, for they be his wordes & not myne." He would disclaim, then, some of the shrewdest thrusts of the fable; yet we more than suspect he enjoyed them, for in his English version, he added some himself. His humour, innocent in appearance, is really sly; now and then he manages a pleasant irony. Earl Rivers, the translator of *Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers*, had left out of his version certain derogatory remarks "touching women," attributed to Socrates. "Marvelling" at this, and teasing his patron with the possible reasons, Caxton as editor puts the remarks in again. Perhaps (he ventures the idea) his lord thought them unfair in application; Socrates, after all, was a Greek. "I wote wel, of whatsomever condicion women ben in Grece, the women of this contre ben right good, wyse, playsant, humble, discrete, sobre, chast, obedient to their husbondis, trewe, secrete, stedfast, ever besy & never ydle, attemprat in spekyng and vertuous in alle their werkis, or atte leste sholde be soo. For whiche causes so evydent my sayd lord . . . thoughte it was not of necessite to sette in his book the saiengis of his auctor Socrates touchyng women." The irony of this delightful passage is twofold. The phrase "or at least should be so" makes it clear that Caxton is laughing both at the alleged reason and at its application. The very redundancy of his style enhances the teasing effect ; the ironical piling-up of epithets affords, long before Rabelais, a taste of the humour of the mock-categorical. Even now he cannot leave his patron alone. Perhaps Earl Rivers sat down to translate those sayings, and, unmarked by him, "the wind blew over the leaf." Childish, no doubt ; but in that age humour was usually either hard and coarse or non-existent. This gentle mockery, like much of Chaucer's, heralds the coming of a more delicate play of mind and fancy, without which æsthetic criticism is impossible.

But vernacular prose in Caxton's day seldom shook off the bonds of the utilitarian. After moral exhortation, history was its great obsession. That Caxton shared the credulity of the chroniclers of his age was to be expected. The boundary between truth and legend was vague enough for him, partly through imperfect information, partly through his inveterate love of the wonderful. Doubts, even in his day, had begun to clip the blossoms of the full-blown Arthurian story ; almost defiantly he marshals his proofs of it, in his preface to the *Morte d'Arthur*. He lived through many "falls of princes" ; he moralises them in true mediæval fashion. For us, his reflections on history seldom rise above platitude. Yet the preface to *Polychronicon*, more thoughtful than usual, has one sentence which brings to the mind "shadows before" of the Renaissance : "The vertu of historye, dyffused & spredd by the unyversal worlde, hath tyme, whiche consumeth all other thynges, as conservatryce and kepar of her werke." The sentence is not inharmonious, although the harmony is gained through pleonasm ; the sentiment proves that the concern of Shakespeare in his *Sonnets* for the overcoming of Time, and the keen reflections of Bacon on such subjects, are even now not incredibly far in the future. Yet, significantly again, the chief interest of *Polychronicon* does not lie for us in its preface. The work itself contains Caxton's only long and continuous piece of original narrative. He added this to the main body of the chronicle, which he modernised from Trevisa's "rude old English." His own portion covers the years

1357 to 1460; from it we quote his description of the battle of Agincourt:

"Then were the Frenchmen at Rolandcourt and Blangy wyth all the Ryal power of France except the Duke of Bourgoyne. And when the kyng saw that he might not pass, he took his felde with such peple as he had, which was not passing 7000 fighting men. And the mooste part of them were sick . . . and the yemanry had their hosen torn or bounden beneth the knee having long iackys, but every man had a good bow and sheef, arrows and a sword. Then he set his felde and set the Duke of York in the vauntward. And ordeyned in the night tofore the battyl that eche man shold make a stake sharp on both thends and pitch it aslope on the ground before hym. And so on the morn he had his confessor, that made them to say a general confession and gaf them general absolucion. And then the kyng rode thro the felde and comforted them, promysyng to them that he wold rather dye that day than yeld hym. And then every man took good heart and courage. And so abode the comyng of Frenshemen, whom they receyved on their stakys, stombling and falling down hors and man, in such wyse that our men felle on them and so fought that thro the grace of god the victory abode with the kyng."

We are now at grips with Caxton, the literary craftsman. Elementary though it may be in syntax, there are sterling qualities in this passage. The style is surely right, for the matter in hand. There is no inappropriate dallying with "curious terms"; yet the language, though plain, is not prosy. Events are clearly and effectively marshalled; the Saxon monosyllables get to work with a will, and lift the narrative on a breeze of strong enthusiasm. It is the prose of a workman that needeth not to be ashamed. Pedestrian, if you will, but a kind of Malory in the rough; the words do not reach his indefinable vividness and sharpness, but they are at root prose of the same order as that of the solitary fifteenth-century master, whose book Caxton first gave to the world.

Only in plain narrative like this had the prose of the time much chance of being good. We have seen, indeed, that in moral exhortation, as in his address to the "knights of England," Caxton can on occasion be simple, lively, and strong. But once he leaves the safe ground of plain words and short sentences his weaknesses begin to appear. The tale of them, already hinted at, must now be unfolded. With no safe models in his own language before him, he often attempted long periods full of ornate terms. He tried to soar, and more often than not he came down catastrophically. Of course English prose, in its unformed, tentative state, had somehow to learn the use of the ampler, more abstract Latin resources in its vocabulary. The task was an amazingly long one, for sure mastery scarcely came in two centuries. Yet without such mastery, our prose would have attained little splendour, and little subtlety ; it is hard, in particular, to see how the terms of literary criticism could have been evolved. In the search for an ampler English, Caxton was an early pioneer. With the Agincourt passage in mind, let us judge of his success from the preface to the *Royal Book*, written in his accustomed moralising vein :

"Whan I remembre and take hede of the conversacion of us that lyve in this wretched lyf, in which is no surete ne stable abydyng, and also the contynuel besynes of every man, how he is occupyed and dayly laboureth to bylde and edefye as though theyr habytacion and dwellyng here were permanent and shold ever endure, & also practyse how they may gete temporalle possessyons, goodes and rychesses, of whyche they are never contente ne satysfyed as for the moste partye, but contynnelly entende and laboure by many subtyl meanes how they may encreace theyr sayd possessyons and richesses, for to come and attayne to worldly honour and estate, in whiche they wene be veray felycyte and blessydnes, and whan I have wel overseen & examyned these foresayd thynges and lyf, I fynde nothyng in them but vanyte of vanytees and all vanyte. . . ."

This is in sober truth one of his best, not worst, attempts. The sentence does not sprawl indefinitely ; it has a good summary ending, which remembers the beginning. This is more than can be said of many of Caxton's sentences. The successive clauses, linked by relatives or conjunctions, do not, as often, stretch out in an aimless line. No links are dropped or redundant, as happens frequently elsewhere, and there is only one grammatical oversight. The chief annoyance to the modern reader is, of course, the endless pleonasm. The sense of the passage, drawn out thin by the co-ordinate syntax, is nearly smothered in the crowd of double terms. "Build and edify," "habitation and dwelling," "felicity and blessedness,"—ornate English prose of the fifteenth century is strewn with such things. If any one man is to be blamed for them it is Cicero, for so long the model of sententious eloquence. On his balanced wings, Caxton aspired to soar; their beat is heard, ampler and more dignified, long afterwards in the book where Englishmen "acknowledge and confess" their manifold "sins and wickednesses." In the fifteenth century there were other temptations to pleonasm—the examples of theological and of legal Latin, and the strong tendency, in the infancy of English prose style, to make written language as different from spoken language as possible. The learned, the high-sounding, the impressive term, must perforce be yoked with the plain native one, or substituted for it. And Caxton was a man of business who had turned writer late in life. With all his humility, and his craftsman's honesty, he may have retained something of the attitude of such people towards literature and the arts in general. They tend to regard them not as necessities of the spirit, but as bedizenments. They disdain to read a book; they peruse a volume. Too often Caxton apologises for his "rude and simple" writing, forsakes his good vernacular, and flies to the opposite extreme.

Yet looking again at that floundering sentence, cannot we find better things in it? Even the fastidious reader may have been beguiled by its opening. "The conversation of us that live in this wretched life, in which is no surety nor stable abiding": there is quiet, solemn eloquence here, both in rhythm and in phraseology. Such words are surely fine enough for the Authorised Version. Though the sentence as a whole is a welter, its several clauses are harmonious enough. We are not deceived surely if we hear in some of them a faint prophetic boom of the word-music of our Bible, over a hundred years before the Authorised Version saw the light. Caxton would, of course, rank as a signal precursor of Tindale if the sterling English of certain Scriptural lives in the *Golden Legend* could be safely reckoned as his. Yet at the least it is certain that his higher flights do not always end in disaster. Now and again his wings beat steadily, and there is music in the air around him.

The love of "fine language," usually derided, is not wholly a bad thing. The schoolboy whose essays, full of high astounding terms, come back to him blue-pencilled by authority is the type most likely to write well. He has his visions, but cannot bring them to earth; he blazes away at his mark with an absurd waste of powder, and misses it. But he *has* his mark, and the desire to hit it. Time and practice bring him success. Our fifteenth-century prose, save Malory's, was in this raw condition. Caxton groped after ornate eloquence; Berners, early in the next century, came nearer in his version of Guevara, which set the Euphuistic fashion before Lyly; for Caxton's chains of double terms we now find all manner of elaborate stylistic symmetries, much laughed at, but a good discipline for the language. Prose was ready for the masters; Shakespeare, Donne and Browne showed what could be made of it. Always it lived dangerously; as a fine critic has said, it "could never be sure of doing the day's work in the right fashion." Only in Dryden's age did it learn thrift; and then it had nothing so splendid to say. So that if Caxton in his pedestrian vein points to Latimer and Ascham, his more elaborate English is a tentative first chapter in a long tale of literary glories. He heard the call of ringing word-music, of lofty diction, of weighty sententiousness. This genuine, if raw, feeling for language drew him to Chaucer, who, he tells us, first made the English tongue "ornate and fair."

Certain words of his on Chaucer are his title-deeds as a critic. They echo a well-known line in the description of the Clerk of Oxenford. At last we come to the fountain-heads of English criticism, one of them in the preface to the *Canterbury Tales*:

"He made many bokes and treatyces of many a noble historye . . . and them so craftyly made, that he comprehended hys maters in short, quyck and hye sentences, escheuyng prolyxyte, castyng away the chaf of superfluyte, and shewing the pyked grayn of sentence, utteryd by crafty and sugred eloquence."

Another is in the epilogue to the *Book of Fame*:

"And so in alle hys werkys he excellyth in myn oppynyon alle other wryters in our Englyssh. For he wrytteth no voyde wordes, but alle hys mater is ful of hye and quycke sentence."

It is unfortunate that an essential word in these passages has a meaning now obsolete. "Sentence" (*sententia*) is an opinion, or an aphorism. Chaucer's "short, quick and high sentences" are the terse, lively aphorisms—the jewels of kindly wisdom scattered about his writings; the "picked grain of sentence" is the picked grain of ripened opinion. In an age burdened as no other had been with the vice of long-windedness, Caxton could admire in Chaucer the virtue of getting down to the point. With the imperishable portraits of the Canterbury pilgrims in our minds, we can appreciate Caxton's meaning when he praises the poet for "writing no void words." And if, living in hasty times, we refuse to put terseness among Chaucer's most shining qualities, we should remember that among the interminable wastes of Lydgate, or of Skelton at his worst, any poem of Chaucer is life and refreshment. The point made by Caxton, if debateable now, was sound enough in his day.

These two passages also make it clear that in his favourite poet Caxton saw his own literary ideals fulfilled. The humble craftsman in letters, conscious of many bunglings, could admire the sure hand of the master. In Chaucer he found a true mean between the rude and the ornate, and a model for economy of workmanship. His praise of the poet's "high sentence" does indeed betray the didactic bias which lingered long in Ascham and others, holding back Elizabethan criticism from the æsthetic way. But a negative ideal for the literary workman of all time is found in "he writeth no void words," and behind the saying lie the struggles of Caxton's own career as a writer. More clearly personal still, and more portentous, is the simple statement: "he excelleth in mine opinion all other writers in our English." Wise after the event, we may patronisingly commend this verdict, forgetting perhaps that Caxton wrote thus of a poet whose language was outmoded, whose prosody was misunderstood, whose fame was outshone in contemporary eyes by the verbose Lydgate. But those words "in mine opinion" are most significant of all. Here at last a writer has forgotten what mediæval authority may say; the Church, the learned, for the time being count for nothing. He has given a personal literary judgment, which lifts him clean out of his age and points to the best criticism of the Renaissance, to the days of freely expressed conviction, of artistic enthusiasm and discovery.

It was a phenomenon typically English that the man who spoke the first quiet word of true criticism in our country should have been no scholar, but a simple-minded craftsman who, having done well in trade, did well, too, in printing, and set himself to give his countrymen something good to read. He gave them Chaucer and Malory; he showed the language the way it should go. He prepared humbly for the coming of a greater age and was himself a herald of its dawn. All this was indeed an achievement for one who is usually thought of in terms of sales and record prices, or as the pioneer of a mechanic art in this country, or even, sometimes, as a name of no importance in literature.

WOODBROOKE STUDIES.

CHRISTIAN DOCUMENTS IN SYRIAC, ARABIC, AND GARSHŪNI, EDITED AND TRANSLATED WITH A CRITICAL APPARATUS.

By A. MINGANA.

Fasciculus 7.

THE APOCALYPSE OF PETER.

Prefatory Note.

THE following pages contain the continuation of the *Apocalypse of Peter* in its Arabic garb and Garshūni form. As the section deals with signs denoting the end of the world and with the appearance of unknown kingdoms and dynasties, the task of translating it proved to be unusually difficult. This difficulty is aggravated by the fact that the style of the author is singularly obscure in this part of the document, and also by the fact that sometimes the copyist does not seem to have understood what he was transcribing, and at other times he appears to have been unable even to decipher the undotted Arabic text that was lying before him. The combination of these two factors has given birth to scores of unintelligible and linguistically meaningless phrases, for which without violent emendations I had to find a sense from the context. I must also state in this connection that there are in the work a few apparently genuine Arabic words that are not fully registered in any Arabic dictionary, but we must bear in mind that all Arabic lexicographers were Muslims who would have hardly read Christian Arabic compositions to extract from them fresh matter for their books. There is, therefore, every possibility that some of these words were Arabic vocables used by Arabs of early times in the sense given to them in our document, but since they were not found in that sense in works written by Muslims, they are not sufficiently explained in Arabic dictionaries.

After an account of the description of the torments of hell reserved to some specified classes of men, the author proceeds to describe the signs of the end of time. His text for this section is fairly easy, and its translation, except when otherwise stated in the footnotes, tolerably certain. The arduous work begins with the history of the kingdoms and the crowned monarchs who will govern this world, in the author's geographical sense, till the second coming of the Lord and the appearance of the Antichrist.

From different groups of signs that the author gives for the end of the world one feels tempted to believe that he was drawing upon different sources or transcribing from different authors who had treated the subject from different angles. Indeed, no sooner does the reader get the impression that the writer has once for all put an end to the series of his signs indicating the end of time than he is confronted with a new section containing fresh sets of such signs. We must, however, admit that often the author's end of time seems to imply simply the end of the tribulations of the special period which he is describing.

So far as the section of the new kingdoms and the new kings is concerned the author counts all his *dramatis personæ* by means of the first letters of their names. For one speaking in enigmas and riddles, and writing in an apocalyptic and veiled style, this method of composing a deliberately abstruse lucubration is not open to too much criticism. Did not the author of the canonical Book of the Revelation and many other writers of antiquity resort to the alphabet or to the numerical value of letters for the conveyance of ideas which they were either unwilling or afraid to reveal in clear language?

Half of the subtlety of the science of the Cabbala and of white magic is based on a felicitous or fantastic combination of alphabetical letters. A special section of Arabic literature is devoted to what is called '*ilm al-ḥurūf*, "Science of Letters," and the thirty or so works that I have consulted on this subject confirm me in the belief that some of the writers who were interested in it, believed it to be true science.

The author is unusually skilled in the choice of his kings, and it is often difficult to follow him for a long time in the historical ground round which the threads of his drama are woven. For instance, when we feel sure that a particular section deals with the Arab Empire, we immediately begin to count the Arab Caliphs who rose after the Prophet down to the ʿAbbasid period, and for purposes of identification apply their names, which are only referred to by their first letter, to the description given by the author in his narrative. One or two of our guesses may hit the mark, but a third or a fourth guess will prove to be unwarranted, and thus throw our calculations in disorder. The same thing might happen if an attempt were made to identify the kings of the Roman, Byzantine, or Persian Empires. I tried this process of identification, but owing to some unsuccessful guesses I was obliged to abandon it; the copyist of the MS. has also tried a similar process, but in the majority of cases has failed lamentably. If we could read the mind of the author, we might probably glean a few historical facts of some interest and importance, but the subject requires very skilful handling, and will certainly make great inroads on the time of any scholar who wishes to grapple with it.

In the "Prefatory Note" to the first part of the *Apocalypse of Peter*, mention was made of the different MSS. which contain the present work. I stated therein that the MS. preserved at Cambridge seemed to exhibit more points of resemblance with the MS. that I am editing and translating than that preserved in the Bodleian, or in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, or in the Vatican. About two months ago, in the course of cataloguing the MSS. of my collection, I discovered another MS. of the work which may be counted as a rival to that of Cambridge. It is numbered Mingana Syriac 441, has 124 leaves of two columns, and is thus nearer to the present MS. than all those that I have described in the above "Prefatory Note." This statement should not be interpreted to mean that the variants that characterise the two MSS. under consideration are simply those that generally characterise two MSS. containing the same work, but it is to be understood solely in the sense that the two MSS. offer more points of resemblance than those that I had previously described.

Apart from verbal divergencies and many other important discrepancies that differentiate the two MSS., M. 441 exhibits a different divisional order. So while M. 70 places the long section containing the story of Clement of Rome towards the end of the narrative, M. 441 places it towards the middle of the work. So also is the case with the section dealing with the preaching of Peter and Paul in Antioch, Laodicea, and Rome.

There is no need to repeat here the remarks upon the *Apocalypse* *of Peter* found in my "Prefatory Note" to the part already published, nor is there any need to direct the reader's attention to all the textual and historical difficulties which I have indicated in the footnotes to the part edited in the ensuing pages. I will, however, venture to lay especial emphasis on the following points:

(1) In narrating the evil effects of the appearance of a new kingdom, possibly that of the Arabs, the author writes thus: "Pharaonic chariots which carry both the Deceiver and the Error." The juxtaposition of the terms "Deceiver" and "Error" is very uncommon, but an exact parallel to it is found in the *Odes of Solomon*, where in Ode xxxviii. 10, we read: "And I asked the Truth, Who are these? And he said to me: *This is the Deceiver and the Error.*" The comparison is rendered even more forceful by the introduction of the element of the "chariot," because this very Ode begins with the mention of a chariot: "I went into the Light of Truth as into a chariot." I believe that this striking similarity upon a very uncommon ground denotes borrowing on the part of the author of the *Apocalypse of Peter* from the author of the *Odes of Solomon*.[1]

(2) In my "Prefatory Note" to the previous part of the work I drew attention to some archaic Christological statements that seemed to point to a time preceding the Nicene Council and its well-defined Christology. The present part also contains statements of a more or less similar kind. I will quote the following sentences:

"When the rebellious King has repented and turned away from his rebellion, and when our Lord has become a Saviour, I will set Him up as the King with six names. I will bring salvation through Him because He is the Saviour adorned with many names. With Him I have placed Michael the man of the golden sword and the holder of the spear. At His right will be the Cherubim and Seraphim who will fight before Him with twelve myriads of angels."

And again:

"The one to whom (the new Jerusalem) was entrusted did not contradict my commandments because I was with Him, and I shall not cease so be with Him always, and He will be with me and to me and I with Him and to Him."

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[1] Is it possible to believe that the author of the *Odes of Solomon* and the author of the first layer of the *Apocalypse of Peter* were drawing upon a common and still earlier source?

It is difficult to believe that these words which are here placed in the mouth of the Christ who is repeating them to Peter, could have been written by an author living after the Council of Nicea, especially if the MS. which contained them were of a Monophysite origin.

(3) The more the *Apocalypse of Peter* enters into the domain of mystery, the more difficult becomes its phraseology. This fact, to which I referred above, explains why the Ethiopic version is of so little use in this section of the book. If the Ethiopic translator had before him an Arabic text nearly as long as that preserved in our MS., he must, indeed, have shortened and condensed it very severely, because all the sixty-six pages of the Garshūni text reproduced in the present fasciculus of the *Woodbrooke Studies* are represented in the Ethiopic version by about two pages of the *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien.*

It is possible to believe that in one important passage the Ethiopic translator has fallen into a rather unfortunate error. In many sentences of the Arabic text here edited, the author refers to a persecuting nation to which he applies the grim expression "children of the wolf." I have elsewhere conjectured that this nation in the mind of our author personifies the Islamic "nation." In Arabic the word for "wolf" in undotted characters is الدىں. Now this word can easily be read to mean "the wolf" (*el-dhi'b*), or, the meaningless *El-diyon*, *el* being the article. The Ethiopic translator, unaware of the fact that the author had a special purpose in using the word "wolf" in connection with a hated and despised people, thought that it represented a proper name, and transcribed it as *Eldiyon*, and thus gave birth to an imaginary name of a people that has never existed and should never have existed. See further my note on this point in the present edition.

A similar and probably worse blunder is committed by the Ethiopic translator in his rendering of the word *Teman*. The Arabic *taiman* from the Syriac *taimna* means the "South." The Ethiopic translator evidently did not understand this substantive but made of it a proper name and wrote: "the King of Teman,"[1] instead of "the King of the South."

(4) The part of the *Apocalypse of Peter* here given contains some proper names of persons and localities of a rather uncommon

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[1] *R.O.C.*, 1913, p. 72.

occurrence. As such should be counted[1] *Yūḳīyah* (name of a country), *Mīṭālīyah* (name of a town), *Saṭafān* (name of a town), *Ḳaṭlū* (possibly name of a man), *Rawādif* (possibly name of a town), *Phalīḳīyah* (name of a country), *Sarḥ* (name of an idol), *Solon* (name of an idol), *Beṣalya'* (name of a man), *Kolon* (name of an idol), *Alīnān* (name of a mountain or a locality), *Ḥotān* (name of an idol), *Tibarus* (name of a man ; not Tiberius), *Yanshur* (name of a man), *Lāyos* (name of a town or a locality), *Ḳūsīn* (name of a town or a locality), *Ablabūn* (name of a town).[2]

It would be useful here to remark that the copyist, in the divisions that he has assigned to the different parts (*juz's*) of the work, jumps from part iii. to part vi., thus omitting parts iv.-v. We have no means for ascertaining whether this omission is to be attributed to a mere slip on the part of the scribe or whether the Arabic original from which the present MS. is derived really lacked two important parts of the *Apocalypse*. In a footnote to the point in question I have conjectured that since the MS. appears to be complete in every detail this difference in the number of the headings may be considered to be due to an error of the scribe. This conjecture, however, is open to serious criticism from an unexpected quarter. The Ethiopic version of the *Apocalypse* contains a special section dealing with heresies.[3] Is it not possible to believe that parts iv.-v. which are completely missing in our text contained in a much more detailed form this section of the heresies, shortened in its Ethiopic garb into two pages of the *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien ?*

There is hardly any need here to emphasise the fact that the country in which the present *Apocalypse of Peter* was first written is Egypt. It is also certain that the work itself is thoroughly Coptic in origin. I have often drawn attention in my *Woodbrooke Studies* to the fact that all these apocryphal documents have nothing in common with the doctrines of the Syrian Church be they of the Nestorian, or the Monophysite, or the Melchite school of thought, and that the only link that connected them with any important branch of that Church is the fact that they have been preserved for us by West Syrian Monophysite scribes living in or near Egypt. This statement does not exclude the hypothesis that in handling these documents the said Syrian scribes did effect some changes in their phraseology to make them better understood by their Syrian readers, or added to them or subtracted from them passages which they did not desire to hand down to posterity.

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[1] The vowels of many of these names are uncertain.

[2] No attempt has been made to identify these and similar names by means of textual emendations.

[3] *R.O.C.*, 1913, pp. 70 and 73-74.

For the convenience of the reader the proper names found in the document will be given in italics.

TRANSLATION.

In the name of our Master and our Lord, the only Son of God, I will write the third part of the discourse of our Master.

The Master of all, who favoured me with His grace said: "O Peter, when ye shall see the sign of abomination which dwells in the desert standing near the holy place let those who are in the inhabited regions flee[1] to the summits of the mountains. Woe unto them that are with child and to them that give suck in those days. For then shall be great tribulation and injustice[2] such as was not since the beginning of the world, and if I do not shorten those days for the sake of the pious believers no one will be left alive on the earth.[3] When the signs are completed, know that the end of the time of the enemies is at hand. As to the hour of the coming of the Son of Man on the second day: He will come out of His chamber as the quick lightning cometh from the direction of the east and shineth even unto the west.[4] Wherever I am, there the nations will assemble.[5]

"At that time I will send my angels, who will gather together my nation from the four corners of the earth.[6]

"Now, O Peter, guard your children till the end of the time in which the kings of anger and wrath shall have passed. When I am come in my name, men will rise from the depths of the earth and will inherit the eternal life, but a great number of them will go to the grievous torment. Know that the dew that will fall in that day will first quicken my people and after them the Gentiles. Know that when I am come the heavens will be folded up for me and their doors will be thrown open before me. And the angels with their different categories will come down,[1] category after category. Some of them will send the stormy winds and will uproot the mountains, which will kill those men who have remained on the face of the earth.

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[1] Read *fal-yujfil.*
[2] Read *ẓulm.*
[3] Matt. xxiv. 16-22.
[4] *Ibid.*, 27.
[5] Read *tajtami‘u.*
[6] Matt. xxiv. 31.

"When no living man remains on the earth, the various spiritual squadrons will come down, and the earth will shake and the graves will open. And I will send to the seas the winds that desiccate the waters. And I will send to the earth the angels whose task is to blow the terrifying trumpets, and cause the violent dins and tumultuous cries, shouts, and sounds. And I will send the Archangels with all[2] their armies, and with them I will fill the countries of the earth. By my order my angels who blow the trumpets[3] will come out of my eternal Pavilion. When they shall blow their instruments, the earth will be affected with the pangs of travail from the terror of their voices, and will throw up[4] to its surface that which is found in its deep. Then I will send the human souls with the angels to whom they are entrusted, in order that they may place them in their respective dwellings and quicken their dead bodies.

"When all that I had intended to do is accomplished, I will come down with myriads of myriads of Seraphim and Cherubim and make my stand over Jerusalem. All the peoples of the earth will then gather together to me, and my angels will go in[5] and out of them and separate the good from the bad. They will single out the wicked and the unbelievers, and they will assemble people of injustice, iniquity, and oppression, and also people of tares, fornication, and adultery, and those who have committed great or small sins of this category. They will gather them together in the valley of Tartarus,[6] in the lowest pit,[7] so that they should be requited according to their past deeds on the earth and so that they should receive a just punishment without favour.

"As to the sinners of my own peoples, I will be their judge to punish them[8] or forgive them. In them and with them are reasons which will divert my wrath from them, bring them nearer to me and intercede for them ; these reasons are my promises to them, and my compact with them, and my body and my blood which will bear witness on their behalf and from the light of which they will shine in the day of Resurrection, as a star shines in a dark night.

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[1] Read *wa-yanzilu*. [2] *Jamī'* is better. [3] Syr. *shiphōra*.

[4] Read *wa-tulḳi*. [5] Read *wa-yadkhul*.

[6] Read *tartarus*. [7] The Syr. *tehōma*.

[8] This meaning is doubtful. Literally : "if I take them" or : "whether I take them or. . . ."

"They will have also one who will plead for them, and this is the pure and the pious woman, the precious pearl, who reared the clothing[1] of the Son of God. And they will have also you, the disciples, to whose care they were entrusted. Bring therefore this message to them from me, that any one of them who would cleave to me in his life in this world I will forgive all his past iniquity in the day of Resurrection. This is my bond to them and you are my witnesses thereon.

"As to the holy prophets and the company of the Apostles,[2] they will be the first to rise from the earth on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, and they will ascend to heaven. So also will be the case with all the believers.

"On the fourth day, which is a Sunday, the inhabitants and the peoples of the earth will rise, because all the worlds worship me[3] and implore me, and it is from me that they solicit mercy and forgiveness. They will know then that the Rebel had led them astray from the right path.

"As to those who believe in me, I will single them out[4] and separate them from all the other peoples of the world, because they have confessed me and acknowledged me. On my part, I will acknowledge their acknowledgment of me and will not send to perdition any[5] one of them, however great are his sins.

"Know, O disciple Peter, that the worm of those who disown me will not die from their bodies.[6] On the contrary, the flesh of those who do not acknowledge me will be rejuvenated and the worms that are in it will increase and multiply, and will never die or perish.

"As to the torments, they are found in many places, one of which is a place called *tehīm*,[7] and it is the lowest part of hell. There is found in it a fire which consumes the unbelievers, the Magians and the idolaters who knew that I was their creator, but nevertheless worshipped Buddhas, stones, images, cows, and other animals.

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[1] *I.e.*, The body. This sentence strongly savours of Nestorianism.

[2] The Syr. *shlīḥa*.

[3] Read *kāna*.

[4] Read *a'zilihum*.

[5] Read *aḥadan minhum*.

[6] *Cf.* Mark xix. 48.

[7] Here again the Syriac word *tehōma* "abyss."

"The torment of other people will be by means of cold, snow, and frost. This torment impairs the strength, enervates[1] the bodies, diminishes the brightness of the colours, hardens the hearts, increases the sorrows, blurs the sight, extinguishes brilliancy, and atrophies humours. It contracts the face of a man and mars its beauty ; it imparts general malaise and a sadly glib tongue ; it daunts the giants, shakes the limbs and desiccates the joints ; it causes the tongues to vibrate and cold to penetrate into the bones with re-doubled strength so that the teeth begin to gnash and grind, and the sufferers to shiver.

"As to those who worship the stars, the sun, and the moon, and offer sacrifices to them to the exclusion of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost,[2] the one (God) who created the created beings, and imparted life into them and caused them to die—their punishment will consist of the second torment, that of darkness, which is situated above the abyss. That darkness is very thick and contains the smoke that comes out of the excruciating torments of the abyss. It lowers vitality, inflicts sufferings, atrophies the heart, weakens the soul, vexes, mortifies, harasses, causes difficulty of breathing, and gives rise to coughs and constriction in the chest. They will continually bite their tongues as their only answer to the benefits showered on them by the Father while they swore allegiance to the Rebel and rejected the services of their God who provides, vivifies, kills, and promises good things, and threatens with the torments of the abyss those who deny Him.

"As to the torment of those who acted like *Pharaoh*—the insolent people who compelled others to worship them, and made themselves gods to the exclusion of God—it will be in Tartarus and in Hell which is full of the wrath, anger, and vengeance of God, and abundantly supplied with the worms of the earth, which devour, sting, bite, and pinch, and are provided with various kinds of poisons. Those localities are frequented by demons who are of different forces which bewilder the minds and weaken the hearts.

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[1] Read *yuḥill.*

[2] This sentence is wholly Syriac, as if it involved a sacred formula or contained a mysterious power.

"As to the torment of the law-givers, it will be more severe than that of the people of infidelity, because they knew their Lord with certainty, and were aware of what was preached by His disciples in the matter of lawful and unlawful things, and knew the roads and safe paths in which there was no fear, nor dread, nor trouble, nor danger, nor utter destruction. If the lawgivers reject[1] the good works enjoined on them by God, and walk in the path of what kindles the wrath and anger of God, they deserve through their bad actions what befell Satan in his rebellion and Adam in his sin.

"When man does what pleases God, he benefits himself in the abundant happiness that comes to him—a happiness that lasts in this world and in the world to come—and in the satisfaction that he has pleased his creator. When, however, he walks in the path of evil, envy, malice, calumny, slander, detraction, untruth, false witness, fornication, adultery, lewdness, theft, robbery, hatred, enmity, riot, wanton disturbance, murder, injustice, iniquity, ignorance, diligence in wickedness, and desire of other people's possessions—he brings on himself what is detrimental to him, and he is certain that his reward will be torments from which there is no escape, because he has forsaken the praiseworthy commandments of God and pandered to the desires of his heart, and in so doing has deserved the tortures of Hell.

"Man should know that there are angels entrusted to take charge of the fire and of the people that are in its lowest extremity. These angels are made of fire. The bodies[2] of the human beings suffer, and none of them possesses any resting place or lying position, but they continually and at all times wade through that fire which, however, does not penetrate into them, because it is its heat only that torments them and makes them move from place to place. If the body and the soul of a man falling into the fire of hell or into one of the abodes of torments, were to perish quickly, it would have been more advantageous for him than the continuous suffering, anxieties, and excruciating pains[3] of the souls at all hours and moments of eternity. God curbs the destructive power of the fire so that it does not destroy those who dwell in it but only inflicts torments on them. This will last all the time in which God wills to spread His wrath on them; and God has power over everything."[1]

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[1] Read *taraka*.

[2] Read *fal-'ajsād*.

[3] Remove the article.

THE STORY OF THE PAGAN KINGS.

And Peter, the master of all, said: "The first (King) is one, and from his Kingdom will emanate many Kingdoms." And our Lord said[2]: "On account of my wrath with my people I will cause (this King) to prevail upon them, I will prolong his life and give him victory over the majority of them. His nature is that of the desert from which he comes forth and his manners are like those of a wild ass. His relatives will rally to him and will help him in the abomination in which he will indulge. These are called 'Children of Vipers' and he is called 'Rebellious Child.' He will strike at the children of the water.[3] (His people) are full of iniquity and are known as the second nation.[4] This nation compels men to embrace its faith, cleaves to injustices, displeases God, is bent on high living and boasts of her drinks, orders evil, indulges in iniquities, forbids gratitude, worships the demons, turns people to the love of women, mocks at me, at all my disciples and at all who believe in me, and loves God with its tongue only. In its words it shows that it believes in God, but in its works it disbelieves in Him. It holds fast to lies and utters falsehood concerning God.

"It is an ignorant nation that bellows like camels and that speaks with its lips words that are not found in its heart. It worships in temples of idols, and it resembles the people of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, the children of Hell. It practises favouritism and usurps honour, glory, majesty, power, and might.

"I did not order this nation to halt, and it is I, O Peter, who will bestow on it dignity, power, and victory over all those who believe or disbelieve in me, and whom I wish to punish and chastise. This nation will compel other people to embrace its religion, and it will attain its aim with the sword.[1]

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[1] Ḳur'ān, ii. 19, etc. In this passage the author does not seem to believe in the eternity of the torments of Hell. This is contrary to what is stated above.

[2] This beginning is abrupt and there is not much connection between the two sentences.

[3] Probably the water of baptism.

[4] The meaning of these sentences is not certain.

"In the days of this nation that comes from the desert there will be earthquakes and great and persistent fear and dread. Its King will fight all other nations, and (its soldiers) will wear mantles, will walk in a naked state and will shave the hair of their heads like men resembling demons. It is I who will send forth this nation which has no equal among other nations. Its King will fight against the four corners of the earth, and will go from east to west and from west to east. His Kingdom will reach (the country of) the idols[2] and the end of *Khurāsān*, and he will destroy the palaces of the Kings without pity, and he will legalise wars. His young men and his children will inflict injuries on mankind, and he will sanction murder.

"At that time no man will confide any secret to his neighbour. because all men will become treacherous. People who are vain and people who bear false witness will multiply in all the earth. The mendacious people will be in high esteem, and the fornicators and adulterers will show themselves openly and will take pride in filth and abomination without fear of God and without shame. At that time the iniquitous people will despise those who obey God, and the rich will need the poor. The anger of the people[3] of tares will be on the increase against the people of the faith, and they will tread them under their feet.

"The young men and the young children of that nation will detract the old men of the believing community without restraint or pity, and the child among them will abuse the grown up. A son among them will murder his father, and they will kill one another without hindrance. That nation will, in conjunction with its King, lay its hands on the sanctuaries in order to strip them of their gold, and will destroy the religious edifices and churches built under my name. (Its King) will chop off the noses, cut out the eyes, and cut off the hands, the feet and the ears. He will establish an iniquitous law to himself and he will be[4] cruel, and in his cruelty he will kill people, destroy towns, and rob and murder without pity while saying: 'God ordered me to do this.'

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[1] It is impossible not to think here that the author had in mind the Arab invasion and the Muslim religion.

[2] Is it India, the country of the Buddhas?

[3] Add *ahl*.

[4] Read *wa-yakūn*.

"At that time nation will rise against nation, people against people,[1] wars against wars,[2] and King against King, and love will cease between them. The believers will then pray[3] (to me) concerning the intended fight (of that King) against them, but I will give him victory over them. They will call upon me, but I will not answer them on account of their abominations, and I will render his name[4] full of terror for them.

"The men of that nation will stretch also their hands against the graves and will dig out the bones of the dead who believed in me from the days of *Noah* to their time. They will pierce the hearts of the living with spears, and in their wars human bones will be sown in their days like seed. The land towns and the seaports will fear them, and that fear will cause the travellers on land and sea to put an end to their travels.

"They will tread on the people with their feet and will consume all the green plants with their mouths. They will seize other people's possessions by force, and no one will be able to stand against them, nor to thwart their desires. They will cut roads and paths in places in which people were unable to walk previously, and they will destroy the inhabited places and build up the places that were previously inhabited. As a distinctive mark they will shave their hair, and wear the mantle and the short garment.[5]

"[6] In their days there will be great famine, little abundance, and increasing mortality. All this will take place as a punishment to those who display their arrogance before me.

"O Peter, when you see the lion's whelp lurking on one side[7] and resting in a secluded place,[8] you will know and ascertain that the destruction of this nation is at hand, and that its end is near. When you see that fear has become general, and that death and famine are on the increase; when you notice two kings[9] of the same race, of the same country[10] and of the same locality beginning to fight[11] against each other, you will know that the land will be subjected to severe afflictions.

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[1] *Cf.* Matt. xxiv. 7, etc.

[2] *Sic.* codex.

[3] Read *yataḍarraʻ*.

[4] I read *'ismahu*.

[5] All this surely refers to the Arabs.

[6] Here begins the Ethiopic version (*R.O.C.*, 1913, p. 70), with many discrepancies.

[7] Read *jānibin*.

[8] The Ethiopic version reads: "When the lion's whelp comes back and returns to the same locality."

[9] Read *malikain*.

[10] Read *baladin*.

[11] Read *yataḳātalān*.

"At that time there will be fearful visions, and signs will be seen on the earth and wonderful happenings will be renewed in heaven. The stars will fall, and there will be fear and fright. At that time wars and raids will multiply, and I will cause destruction to prevail upon men, and will deliver them to the sword. They will offer to me prayers and supplications, but I will not listen to them, nor will I have pity on them, because of the great number of their sins and iniquities. In those days the nation of that King will prevail upon my nation, and those who believe in me will suffer many tribulations.[1]

"Then the believers in me will pray to me, and the people of my faith will repent before me with a true repentance. There will be in the world prayers the like of which did not exist before. If something like them existed in the days of *Adam*, he would not have gone out of Paradise; if the like of them existed in the time of *Noah*, the deluge would not have come on the rebellious nations; if something like them existed in *Sodom*, God would not have sent on it fire and brimstone; if something like them existed in the time of *Pharaoh*, God the Father would not have drowned him (and his people) in the sea; if something like them existed with the children of Israel, *Nebuchadnezzar* would not have prevailed upon them, and I would have delivered them from his hand. If the believers[2] had implored me[3] and addressed to me similar prayers in their days and in their times, I would have accepted their prayers and not allowed anyone to rule them and reign over them, and I would have heard them always and have listened to them.

"If prayers such as those were addressed to me by them, I would have removed from them all injustices, all harm, all fear and all calamities, and no creature of God would have been able to inflict any injury on them. My eyes would have guarded them and my ears would have heard their supplications and listened to their prayers as I had promised to them, because I am a truthful Lord, possessing exclusively good attributes.

"O Peter, the people of the desert,[4] whom I have described to you, will surely trample on the Holy House, and lengthen their speech and their stories in order to deceive and circumvent the believers with their lying utterances; but you, O Peter, tell your people to avoid them and not to follow their false doctrine about God, a doctrine that will be delivered with a diabolical cunning and assertions to which there is no foundation. They are the roots of thorns of thistles which will be gathered in order to kindle with them the fire of Hell. Order (your people) to endure[1] and not to fear those who kill the body, because if they endure their tribulations I will cause them to inherit the Kingdom of Heaven. Anyone who will not follow those people, I will forgive his trespasses and overlook his prevarications, because he has kept his baptism and met the Father with an unsullied faith; and I will make him inherit the pleasures which the eye saw not, and the ear heard not, and which entered not into the heart of man,[2] and was not perceived by the awe-inspiring Powers.[3]

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[1] The majority of the above sentences are missing in the Ethiopic version.

[2] Read *al-mu'minūn*. [3] Read *da'āni*.

[4] The Ethiopic version omits every allusion to this people of the desert, probably symbolised in the Arabs.

"O Peter, woe unto them that are with child and unto them that give suck[4] in those days of the people whom I have mentioned. In those days many nations of my people will be killed with the sword, and the pregnant women will miscarry from fear. I will order the winds to lift skywards the soil and the ashes of the earth, and I will shower that earth and those ashes from the sky and strike with them the faces of those who contradict the truth. The quantity of the earth falling will be as high as the mountains. All this will take place because of the suffering inflicted on those who believe in me. And my churches and my houses of prayer will be re-built, and my altars re-erected.[5]

"The springs and the rivers will dry up, the time will change, the sun will suffer eclipse for three days, and the days and the months will be altered, because computation by the sun, by the moon, and by the rest of the stars will cease to be accurate. Anger will increase and wrath will multiply on the earth, and good things will cease to come to mankind.

"The King of the people whom I have described to you and who will hate my followers, will reign in[6] all the land of *Jerusalem*, and whenever his power increases, his anger, his tyranny, and his enmity will also increase; and his needs, his extortions, his oppression, his injustice, and his sinfulness will grow.

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[1] Read *yasbirū*.

[2] I Cor. ii. 9.

[3] Presumably the angels.

[4] Matt. xxiv. 19.

[5] These sentences are missing in the Ethiopic version (*R.O.C.*, 1913, p. 71).

[6] Lit. "from."

"In the days of that people the soldiers of Satan and his evil spirits will multiply, so that the earth will be filled with them. They will claim prophecy, and will become false prophets. In their days the beast of the desert will rule over mankind, and his people will divide the earth into parts for which they will cast lots among themselves. In their last days other nations will come out of them[1] and the countries (of the earth) will be destroyed. They will seize the land of the remotest inhabitants of the earth, and they will make men dwell in the deserts of the surface of the globe.

"Then a rod will spring up in the country of the South[2] from my anger and my wrath, in the same way as the rod of salvation who is the Son of Man sprang up for the salvation of the world. At that time the mountains, seized with fear of the aforesaid people, will tremble. They will arm themselves with weapons destructive of life and make others do likewise, and they will gird themselves with iron. While wars are being waged; while the phalanxes struggle with one another; while men are under the sway of tribulations, fear, pains, famine and death; while blood is being shed and flows on the surface of the earth; and while swollen waters burst through their barriers: the ox with the two horns[3] will make its appearance in its might from the East. The winds will increase in the countries of the earth, one after another, and the struggle will be intensified and embittered, and the nations will perish, and blood will flow in the mountains and in the plains like water. The inhabitants will be deported, a son will not know his father,[4] the women will be ravished, and their children[5] will be sold to slavery. People will be scattered in all lands, and a son will not know his father nor a father his son, nor a slave his master. On account of the great conquests of this murderous[6] nation, the towns and the rivers will submit to it, and the souls of men will perish like the souls of lambs, and iniquity will increase.

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[1] My translation of this uncommon and modern verb is not certain.

[2] The Arabic word used is *taiman* from Syriac *taimna* "south." The Ethiopic translator understood this word as a proper name and rendered it by *Teman*. Further, he understood the sentence to mean "the rod of salvation and of life will come from *Teman*" instead of from Jerusalem.

[3] The Ethiopic version (*R.O.C.*, 1913, p. 71) reads only "the King of the East."

[4] Read *abāhu*.

[5] Read *awlādahunna*.

[6] *Ḳātūl* is a participle imitated from Syriac.

The masters will be like slaves, and all of them will sit together as equals. The slave girl will be sitting down and be honoured, and the mistress will grind the corn with the hand-mill. The young will take precedence over the old, and will drink[1] before them, while the slaves will be given power to rule over the masters. Because of this men will be delivered at that time to the sword and will be considered like dogs, and the powers of heaven will be shaken.[2] The kings of the earth will fight one another, and all the kings will flee from the King of the South, and all the nations will be seized with fear of him. He will fight[3] against the four corners of the earth, will overpower the kings, will rule over all the world, and will uproot the towns of idols. There will be but little[4] peace and security in his time, because of the actions of the preceding kings. The calamities that will befall them will primarily be[5] on account of their sins and iniquities.

"At the end of the trials and tribulations that men will endure, and at the end of everything that I have described, the earth will rest in peace and security, and the sufferings and pains will vanish ; there will be tranquillity and quiet, and the nations will befriend one another ; the wars will cease, and the nations will rejoice under the shadow of the grace of God. This peace, however, will affect mankind for a short time only, but men will believe that there will be no more wars on the earth.[6]

"After that there will be fear, dread, and fright the like of which had not been seen before. Men will die from that fright, and kings will rise against kings. Wars will be waged, and blood will flow. The birds of heaven and the beasts of the earth will be satiated with the flesh of the corpses of the slain.

"After that the earth will again experience peace and security, and the nations will rejoice and forget the past.[7] Justice, peace, and security will affect all mankind for a short while, then men will be plundered and the inhabitants of the majority of the countries of the earth will be deported. The son will not know his father nor the father his son. Man will say to man and woman to woman: 'From which country have you been deported and from which country are you? Who was your king and what was your condition? How were you able to save yourself, and how did you come here?' They will not know one another, and one will kill the other.

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[1] Read *wa-yashrab.*

[2] Matt. xxiv. 29.

[3] Read *kāna yuḥārib* and likewise read the following two verbs in masc. sing.

[4] Read *al-yasīr.*

[5] The sentence is complicated and the translation is not certain.

[6] Many of the above sentences are missing or differently translated in the Ethiopic version (*R.O.C.*, 1913, p. 72).

[7] Lit. "What had happened was to the good."

"In those days one will not have pity on another, be he old or young, be he a boy or a girl. The greatest calamities will fall on the believers, who will be bound with chains and fetters and cast and drowned in rivers. Their hands will be tied to their hair, and those who bind them will impede them from drinking water. When their victorious enemies have dealt with them according to their wishes, there will be a great earthquake[1] the like of which had not previously occurred, and the earth will shake three times a day. Then the greatest, the most powerful, the most awe-inspiring King of the South will come forth. He is a terrible and fearful King, and possesses many armies and numerous troops and nations, and he is the powerful ox with the three horns.[2] He will reign, he will destroy, he will burn, and he will shed blood. He will rob, he will plunder, and he will cast his anger on all the ends of the earth. He will demolish and uproot[3] the central[4] columns, will indulge in dishonourable things, and cast his anger, wrath, and rancour on the town of *Baalbeck*[5] which he will destroy to its foundations. After he has entered this town and done in it what he had intended to do and shed on it all his evil designs, he will not return to his country and to his relations, but he will die and perish in it, and its soul will leave (its body) because he has set himself as high as God and in so doing has deserved torments and perdition.

"I will pour on him my anger and my wrath through the King of the East. This King will destroy his pillar and his kingdom, defeat his troops, bring low his majesty, rule over his countries, uproot his residences, overpower his followers and his children whom he will kill with horrible tortures.[1] Then the earth will be steady and the world stable, and justice and fair play will be on the increase for all the subject peoples.

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[1] Lit. "Fright."

[2] Here the Ethiopic version (*R.O.C.*, 1913, p. 72) has also "the ox with the three horns."

[3] The Syr. verb *'akar*.

[4] Read *al-wusṭa*.

[5] A well-known town in Syria.

"After this kings will rise against kings, and wars will be waged by them, which will cause the destruction of cities.[2] The ramparts[3] of the large city of the *Ḥijāz* which has many inhabitants will be destroyed, and all the gold, the silver, the vessels, the beauty, and the majesty that are found in it and in *Egypt* will be carried to *Babylon*. A week and a half after the cities have been destroyed and the ramparts of the fortified city which is in the *Ḥijaz*[4] have been dismantled, my sanctuaries will be destroyed, and their wood will be burnt with fire and naphtha. My opponent will take pride in this and will endeavour to kill my followers and to inflict on them what he had intended to do against them: he will commit injustices against them, ravish their women, rob them, plunder them, deport them, and murder them; he will also demolish and burn my churches, because (my followers) will not do the things that he will do.

"Then the above wars will cease and men will breathe, but my followers will have no peace in all the days of that king, but their time[5] will be spent in tribulations, injustices, and in his enmity till he dies. At the end[6] of the days decreed for them, signs will appear in heaven, in the sea, and on the land, and frightful happenings will be intensified in the higher sea (that is in heavens). The kings who will oppose my followers will arrive and repair to the countries of *Persia*, which they will besiege. A door will open for them in the sea, and the hostile sword will reach the region of *Cyprus*. And they will destroy my churches, trample on my buildings, and tear up the sacred Books and the Gospels which they will contain. They will take possession of my horses and my valiant horsemen and they will kill them and plunder them, and they will hold in bondage[7] all the inhabitants of the country[8] of *Cyprus*.

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[1] All this is missing in Ethiopic.

[2] Read *al-amṣār*.

[3] Read *aswār*.

[4] In this sentence and in the one that precedes it the text is badly worded and seems to make of the Ḥijāz a town—instead of a country.

[5] I read *zamānuhum*.

[6] Read *tatimmu*.

[7] The author uses here the objective pronoun before the subject as it is done in Syriac and not in Arabic.

[8] Lit. "town."

"In those days the inhabitants of *Egypt*[1] will go forth and will conquer the town of my holiness, which they will occupy; and they will spread on the earth as they had spread previously.[2] Visions will increase at the time when this takes place, and fear and dread will be rampant in the other countries and regions of the earth. The hatred of men will be continually poured on my followers who believe in me, but know, O Peter, that I am the Lord under whose power they are. These calamities will befall them solely on account of their sins and prevarications, and I will have them continually in my hands and under the care of my Providence. In every country in which a wicked king[3] rules over them, I will raise the best man found in it, and he will have pity, compassion, and affection for all those who believe in me. I will not cease also to help them and to listen to their prayers in those harassing days which will come on them, because they have been steadfast in their faith in me and have endured with patience the injustices of my enemies. I will not turn my faith from them, but I will be continually with them and help them always, at all times and for ever and ever.

"At the end of those days the sun and the moon will suffer eclipse, the stars will fall, and the King of the East will come forth to the west with numerous troops. A war will then be waged between the King of the East and the King of the West, and killing and destruction will increase among (their soldiers). Stormy winds from heaven will sweep the earth, and calamities, dearth, famine, and fear will be renewed for mankind, and deportation[4] and death will be the lot of the children of *Ham*. Signs will be seen in heaven, cries will succeed one another, and all the paraphernalia of wars will shine from heaven to such an extent that the souls of the inhabitants of the earth will be terrified.

"After this a king will come from the east to *Egypt*, which he will occupy, and he will also occupy the other countries of the west. All the earth and all the nations will submit to him and obey him. He will lead a great army and conquer big cities, and he will rule from sea to sea. Then the *Arab* armies will spread out, and there will be great fear on the earth because of them, and the lands that are near to them will submit[1] to them. When their armies come near a country, people will hear[2] voices like voices of angels coming out of them, and an uproar similar to that of the heavenly hosts, and the hearts of the children of men will be filled with fear. There will be no earthly king left without fearing them and dreading them in his soul. There will be in the world tribulations the like of which had not been seen previously. The mountains will crumble, and heaven with its powers will be agitated. Fear will also penetrate into the hearts of animals from east to west.

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[1] Apparently the author is using here the word *Miṣr* in its literal sense of "Egypt."

[2] All the above sentences are missing in Ethiopic.

[3] Read *malikun*.

[4] Or "famine," etc., if we read *ghala* as above for *jala*.

"At that time I will send my grace and my mercy upon all the inhabitants of the earth who believe[3] in me, will answer all those who pray to me, and will open to them the doors of my pleasure, through which I will cause them to enter. I will give joy to their hearts and peace to their souls. I will comfort them and enhance their prestige, and I will make my kings prevail upon all those who had contradicted me. Wars will be waged, nations will be terrified, fear will spread, towns will be agitated, and hearts will ache. Famine will last together with death and the shedding of blood, countries will perish and regions will be trodden under feet. Men will perish, and the condition of women will grow worse. My anger will come down and will destroy all those who contradict my kings, and the army (of the said King) will be defeated, and he himself will lose his throne.

"I will bring salvation to the earth openly, and joy, happiness, and satisfaction will be seen in the hearts of my kings, and in those of all my flocks. Any one of them who had been expatriated will return to his country and will be reunited to his family and his relations, and my faith will appear on the spear-heads. The tribes will come back and return to one another, and every hidden thing will be made manifest, and the humble will be separated from the insolent. My glory will be enhanced among the believers in me, and joy and jubilation will increase in all the countries of the earth.

"[4] The lion's whelp will arise from his slumber and he will uproot the children of *Seba* on account of their bad deeds, and he will put to flight and defeat all the kings, because I have given him my power. And the lion's whelp will rule over *Damascus*, and he will destroy it if its inhabitants do not repent. The cause of the onslaught of the lion's whelp is that his enemy will conquer a town of his Kingdom which is situated in the west, and his zeal will be roused and he will bring his armies to the east, and he will defeat the one who had conquered his town that was situated in the west. They will ask pardon, which he will not grant, and he will display his armies in the east and in the west, which he will conquer, and he will reach the borders of all the Kingdoms, and will march on *Jerusalem*, which he will enter[1] with joy and jubilation.

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[1] I read *tuṭī'uhum*. This sentence is complicated and its translation is not certain. [2] Read *yasma'*. [3] Read *yu'min*.

[4] Here begins the Ethiopic version (*ibid.*, p. 73) after having omitted many of the above passages.

"He will rebuild in it the places that had been demolished, and he will reconstruct the rampart[2] of his capital,[3] and he will rebuild the rampart of the city of *Phœnicia*, because he will find it demolished together with its towers. O Peter, all the believers in me will be at that time in great joy and jubilation. Then the lion's whelp will return to his Capital, radiating with great joy and followed by honour, majesty, and grace. Then he will mount the throne of his Kingdom and of his glory for many years and multitudinous days, because he will follow my commandments, judge in justice, and not spare those who disbelieve in me. The Kingdom of those who believe in me on the surface of the earth will last seventy weeks,[4] and that believing King will exact justice from the children of the wolf forty fold for each injustice they had inflicted on the believers, because justice means religion.

"That blessed King will also impose full tribute on the children of the wolf and exact from them forty fold the tribute that they had taken from the believers. He will not have pity on them nor will he listen to their prayers, because they are detractors of their creator and liars. Men will be astonished at the zeal and the actions of that lion's whelp, who will indeed be zealous towards those who believe in me. And they had believed that he was dead never to rise again!

"From that time none of the children of the wolf will ever be allowed to bear arms, and justice, equity, and security will increase, and abundance will affect all creatures. And he will rebuild all towns that were destroyed, and opulence will be as profuse as the sand of the sea shore, and all the believers will live in an undescribable affluence. Know, O Peter, that all these events will take place twenty two and a half long weeks before the second coming of the Son of Man—who is I—to the world.

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[1] Read *yadkhuluha*.

[2] Read *sūr*.

[3] Lit. "town."

[4] *Cf.* Dan. ix. 24.

"Know, O Peter, that the Kingdom of the lion's whelp will be a good one. I have already revealed and disclosed this mystery to my elect, my pious and pure one, my prophet *Daniel*, and shown him some of these facts. I have revealed to him the Kingdoms and symbolised them for him in four beasts which came up from the water.[1] The first beast was like a lion, the second beast like a wolf,[2] the third beast like a tiger,[3] and the fourth beast like a lion's whelp, and it is the greatest and most formidable of the beasts.

"The first beast that resembled the lion represented the Kingdom of the *Babylonians*, the second beast which resembled the wolf are the children of the '*Abūs*,[4] the third beast which is the tiger is the Kingdom of the *Greeks*, and the fourth beast which was like a lion's whelp is the Kingdom of the *Romans*, and it is higher and greater than the Kingdom of the other kings. The Kingdom of *Babylon* will last five hundred years, and the Kingdom of the children of the *'Abūs* will last as the prophet Isaiah said, according to the years of an hireling.[1] As to the Kingdom of the Greeks, it will last three fifths and a half of the duration of the Kingdom of the children of the *'Abūs*,[2] and the Kingdom of the Romans will last till my second coming. And I, O Peter, will then take over the Kingdom from them.

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[1] Dan. vii. 1-9.

[2] *Ibid.*, 5, has a "bear" and not a wolf. The Ethiopic version (*R.O.C.*, 1913, p. 77) has "a serpent," and identifies the Kingdom with that of the "*Eldiyon*." I believe that this strange word *Eldiyon* may be explained through a blunder on the part of the Ethiopic translator. The word appears to be the Arabic *el-dhi'b* "the wolf," *el* being the article. In early and undotted Arabic characters the letters *dāl* (d) and *dhāl* (dh) are graphically identical and distinguishable only by an extraneous dot placed over the latter. So also is the case with the letters *nūn* (n) and *bā* (b) which are distinguished only by a dot placed over or under them. So the above word which really means "wolf" may easily have given birth to the meaningless *Eldiyon* found in the Ethiopic version. The undotted Arabic form would be الدٮٮ which may be read as *el-dhi'b* the "wolf" or the meaningless *Eldiyon*.

[3] *Ibid.*, 7-8, does not give the name of the beast.

[4] The Arabic word '*abūs* used here means primarily "lion" and is derived from the verb '*abasa* which means "to be stern and austere in countenance." As this verb is also the root of the Arabic proper name '*Abbās* from whom comes the 'Abbasid dynasty of Baghdad it is just possible that the author was playing on the identical root of these two words and thus wishing to kill two birds with one stone. For this reason I will retain the word in the translation in order to avoid possible ambiguities. Further reference will be made below to this fact.

As to the Kingdom of the children of the *'Abūs*, twelve kings will come out of it, followed by nine *mutawāfir*[3] kings. The said twelve kings will show justice on the earth, will be great and powerful, and will protect their Kingdom. The reference to them will be by the brief length of their reign,[4] and their days will be short. Two of those kings will perish in the centre of the earth, and four of them will guard their Kingdom which will be with them and in their successive generations till the end.

"Out of them will come three Kings in the three fifths of the aforesaid period.[5] The first of them will be killed in his bed, and the second of the three will reign five and a half years,[6] and many men will be murdered and will perish by his hand. He will follow his own opinions, and he himself will prepare for wars. He will repair to *Mesopotamia* with a great army, and those who believe in me will make a pact with him and will not forsake him. From *Mesopotamia* he will travel to *Syria*, and its inhabitants will acknowledge him. From it he will repair to the town of *Phœnicia*,[7] but he will turn his face from it and return to *Syria*, and many men will perish there between the two mountains,[1] and he will scour the deserts.

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[1] Is. xxi. 16. So I understand the sentence which literally means "according to the number of the year of the greatest." The Ethiopic version makes mention here of the problematic *Eldiyon*—as above.

[2] The Ethiopic version (*R.O.C.*, 1913, p. 77), reads: "five times as long as the half of the reign of the children of "*Eldiyon*."

[3] I do not know the precise meaning in the context of this Arabic word, the literal meaning of which is "abundant, numerous, copious." The Ethiopic version (*ibid.*) has "little Kings" or "Kinglets." Mention is made below of seven Kinglets.

[4] This translation is not certain. Literally the sentence reads: "Their relation is the law of the end." It is omitted in the Ethiopic version.

[5] The translation is uncertain. The sentence is missing in Ethiopic.

[6] Ethiopic: "one year and a half."

[7] Ethiopic: "Phrygia".

"As to the twelve Kings that will reign from the barbaric nation, the name of the first of them begins with the letter *Hā'*.[2] His reign will be a short one, and it is he who will precede the other kings in persecuting the children of (my) nation who will disobey his orders.[3] He will be the beginning of trouble. There will, however, be a little justice in his time, but woe to the man who follows his orders.

"After him will reign a King called (. . .).[4] He will conquer towns by means of his priests, and those who believe in me will feel secure, and he will grant them charters to this effect, but he will not grant them more than he will promise. He will destroy towns, villages, and corn fields. He will pass through countries, and will be the first King of the barbaric nation who will impose tribute on those who believe in me.

"After him will come from this nation a man called (. . .), who will usurp the throne. He will conquer countries and fight against his people and make their murder lawful. There will be justice in the beginning of his reign.

"After him will reign a man called (. . .). He will be a mighty man who will reap where he has not sown, and hoard what does not belong to him. His religion will be hypocrisy and iniquity, and he will be much more wicked than the one who preceded him. He will be the fourth King of that nation, and his Kingdom will be in the seventh millenium of the creation, and his power will be from me, and in the year nine hundred and twenty third of *Alexander*.[5]

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[1] In the Ethiopic version it is the King that will die between two mountains.

[2] The copyist identifies him as *Herod*. All these identifications are additions to the original text, and are by late copyists who wished to make a display of their skill in guessing the identity of the persons spoken of enigmatically by the first narrator. I shall relegate the names of the persons guessed by them in this way to the foot-notes. They are mostly missing in the Ethiopic version (*R.O.C.*, 1913, p. 74).

[3] All this sentence is complicated, and my translation of it is very uncertain. It is of course missing in Ethiopic, as are also all the following pages.

[4] The missing names of Kings will be marked with three dots between brackets.

[5] A.D. 612 according to the ordinary computation.

By my will he will repair to the land of the holy light, which I had promised to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. He will enter it and conquer its[1] inhabitants who believe[2] in me in the year nine hundred and thirty fifth of the era of *Alexander*.

"All the time of that nation is four long weeks, six weeks of medium length, and three and a half short weeks. At the end of these weeks I will throw confusion among (its Kings) and I will destroy their Kingdom. The interval of time in which their Kingdom will be just and full of equity will be one hundred and nine years. At the end of this period of security the twelfth of the aforesaid Kings will die. He will be a powerful man, with long stature and sharp eyes. I have created him in my wrath and made him love to erect land-borders, rebuild devastated places and plant trees. He will have a long life and he will build towns and dig wells.[3] He will be so keen in exacting tribute from men that he will demand it even from people who have died.

"He will amass gold and silver in a quantity larger than that amassed by the previous kings. He will have also numerous gifts sent to him by all nations, tribes and peoples, who will thus seek to ingratiate themselves with him at every opportunity. He will travel in the deserts and the wastes, will cause rivers to flow in them, and will taste of the fruit of all the trees that he will plant. When the time of his death is near,[4] he will receive messages of condolence from all countries, and will die in his bed in peace and without the troubles experienced by other kings who die a violent death of various kinds.[5]

"After the death of the aforesaid King another man will reign half a week, and he will be followed by another man who will reign half a year. After this period, tribulations will increase against the believers in me, especially against those of them who will be dwelling in towns at the time of the dissolution of the Kingdom of the aforesaid nation. As to those[6] believers who at that time will be dwelling in the three mountains or in their summits, they will be saved, because those mountains are difficult of access.

[1] Add: *'ala* after the verb and eliminate the *lām*.

[2] I read *al-mutadāyin*, for *al-madāyin*.

[3] Lit. "rivers."

[4] Read *dana*.

[5] All this sentence is badly worded, but its meaning is clear.

[6] Read *min* for *makān*.

"Then eight small kings will rise, followed by three others of different nationality. One of these three will follow his own opinions and his own desires. After him another man will rise from them who will be a mendacious and a deceitful person who will wish to possess the Kingdom and for this purpose he will make promises to people concerning various things which he will not fulfil.[1] He will kindle wars in the centre of the earth and will overcome those who do not acknowledge him. He will ravish many (women) and he will be a lover of fornication and homicide. To his relatives and to the strangers he will not fail to be a sign of the nearness of the end of his people in the world.[2]

"At that time there will be in the world a peace that will last less than half a week, and after that peace *Egypt* will be ruined and there will be much slaughter in it. It will be surrounded on all sides by wars, its inhabitants will be seized with fear and fright inside and outside, and they will have no rest. After this three men who are brothers will rise, and one of them will reside in the east, in the centre of the world. When these three brothers have risen, it will be the time of the departure[3] of the people whom I have described.

"Then the servitude of those who believe in me will be intensified, because the aforesaid people in conjunction with other peoples will enslave them. The towns will be ruined, and the earth will shake on account of the injustice done to those who believe in me. O Peter, when (you see[4]) that the land is seized with fear, let any of its inhabitants who is sinful[5] be steadfast in fasting, praying, and giving alms, and let him not come near any sin. O Peter, admonish those who believe in me to beware of all men, and inform them that their children and their parents may be their enemies.

"Know, O Peter, that at the time in which the children of the wolf will come out of Jerusalem, the earth with all that is on it will shake. The earth will darken, mendacity will increase in it, and truth will vanish from it. Visions and earthquakes will multiply, the preaching of the priests will cease, and vain people with empty pride will prevail. The holy priesthood will be sold for money, and bribes will be accepted for it. The wise men will be disregarded, and the ignorant will rule. Injustices will be committed openly, and suspicion will be rife in all countries.

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[1] Lit. "and there will be nothing left of them."

[2] This sentence is badly worded and my translation of it is very uncertain.

[3] Possibly in the sense of "the end." Read *dhahāb*.

[4] This or a similar verb is missing in the sentence.

[5] The word *ajnāḥāt* seems to be a translation of the Syriac *gunḥé*.

"The kings of the east together with their lands and the lands of the west will perish, and the kings of the west will rule over the country of *Phālīḳīyah*[1] and over the deserts, and will put to shame the inhabitants of the town of *Rawādif*,[2] who believe in me. The children of *Ḳatlu*,[3] O Peter, will be given (or, will give) the tablets on my behalf in order to conquer your holy city, and they will impose tithes on its lands. Then the children of the '*Abūs* of the desert and the people who say that the tablets are like the tree the leaves of which fall in the winter time, will depart and all of them will perish by themselves, but the children of the just will have no fear. As to the towns of *Miṭālīyah* and *Saṭāfān*[4] their inhabitants will be carried into captivity and perish, because I will look upon them with anger and wrath.

"After that there will be a short peace on the earth, and then the Law will appear. Men will be neglectful and afraid (of it), and they will read it from *Jerusalem*, but they will twist the meaning of my commandments which I have enjoined upon them,[5] and they will not honour my martyrs nor love my sacrifices; and fear will spread over your lands.

"Know, O Peter, that the sign of the iniquitous and unjust people whom I have mentioned as coming from the desert of the south is that they will ride on camels and will hold in their hands the rule of the carpenter with which they will mark, and will shave the hair (of their heads) like mendicants.[6] Woe to the island (*sic*) of *Ḥaran* at that time, because its inhabitants will die of starvation, fire, sword, destruction and deportation. O Peter, *Ḥaran* the town of idols will be like a congregation that is led astray and like leaven that is immersed into dough. Woe at that time to *Palestine* and to its inhabitants, because a King[1] will repair to it from the west, who will joy in pains and be pained[2] in joys. He will go afterwards to the east and perish there, and woes will be doubled for *Ḥaran*, and gloom will be in the saddle in the east and in the west.

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[1] Which country is this?

[2] This word may not be a proper name but a derivative of the verb *radafa* in the sense of "followers."

[3] This word may be a derivative of the verb *ḳatala* "to kill," and in that case the sentence would mean "the children of those who will be killed (or, who have killed) will be given (or, will give) the tablets from me." In this sense we ought to add an *alif* after the verb and the pronoun *al-ladhīn* before it. The meaning of all the sentence is problematical.

[4] Which towns or countries are these?

[5] The meaning of all the above sentence is uncertain.

[6] All this seems to refer to the Arabs. As to the rule (lit. "rod") of the carpenter we may compare Is. xliv. 13.

"Know, O Peter, that the people whom I have described will be in permanent action from the beginning of their reign to its end. This people, O Peter, is the scourge of my wrath on the earth, and men of all tongues will flee from them, because they will consider as lawful the deportation of their sons and daughters. O Peter, there will be no justice in the time of this people for one hundred and sixty nine years as I told you, and at the end of these years they will intensify their raids on the earth. O Peter, woe to *Armenia*, because it will perish seven times, and at the end of the seventh time, I will be reconciled to its inhabitants and give them victory, at the completion (of the time) of the twelve Kings;[3] and they will kill a considerable number of the wicked men, the children of the barbaric nation.[4]

"Then a man will appear and will call people to his side. His soldiers will be from the *Sudan*[5] and short of stature, the like of whom men had not seen previously. Their foot soldiers will be more numerous than their horsemen. At their first onslaught no one[6] will be able to oppose them nor to stand against them. Their devotion to their leader will be greater than yours and that of your colleagues to me, O Peter. At the end of their Kingdom they will repair with their King for the time being to the land of fear, and they will destroy three towns. *Egypt* will be in a state of commotion, and blood will be shed before that King and his generals. The treasures of *Damascus*, which are the glory of its inhabitants, will be thrown open, the kings of the littoral will reign, and the mountains of *Alīnān*[1] will be conquered.

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[1] Read *malikun*. [2] Read *wa-yaḥzan*. [3] Lit. "heads."

[4] On the vicissitudes of Armenia caused by wars, see *Encyclopædia of Islam*, i. 437 *sq*. The meaning of some words in this sentence is problematical.

[5] Or: "blacks." [6] Read *aḥadun*.

"When you see[2] that the east becomes dark and is covered with a black cloud; that stormy winds begin to blow; that armies move from one country to another and from one place to another; that many mountains are engulfed; that wars rage in *Damascus*, and there is no one left to dwell in it as well as in *Baalbeck;* that armies pour into *Egypt* in order to destroy it and burn it; that earthquakes occur in towns, and piercing noises are heard in them; that the Kingdom of the seven kinglets whom I have mentioned,[3] is at an end; and when you see that the seat of the Kingdom of the people that I have described changes from their first house to their second house, and that the seat of the Kingdom of the first King changes from the direction of their *Ḳiblah*[4] to the east; and when you see three kings rising in one year: know that (the day of) truth is at hand, and that the last Kingdom[5] will devastate the earth and the world.

"Know, O Peter, that at that time all those who believe in me will be smitten with great grief. Divisions will occur in the camp of the children of the '*Abūs*, and seven kinglets will rise from them, and a considerable number of them will congregate near waters.[6] A sign will be seen in *Edessa* and the inhabitants of *Ḥaran* will rise against those of *Edessa*. There will be ruin, slaughter, grief and fear near the small winding river.[7] Woe, O Peter, to *Antioch*, your town, woe to *Baalbeck*, and woe to the remaining towns and to *Syria*, because they will be affected by many tribulations at that time. Woe, O Peter, to *Samosata* as it will be ruined, burned and its soil tilled with plough, because an iniquitous man will rise from it.[8]

"O Peter, if your people accept my words I will remove my anger and my wrath from them. Know, O Peter, that the temple of '*Irḳah*[9] and the town of *Seba* will be burned, and the inhabitants of the town of *Seba* will be reduced to a hill (of ashes). Seven years will come upon my people, in which many of them will perish. Signs will be seen in these seven years, and in them the earth will be filled with the partisans of hell.

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[1] Vowels uncertain. Which mountains are they? Is it possible that it is a scribe's error for *Lubnān*, the mountains of Lebanon?

[2] I read *naẓartum.*

[3] Mention is made above of nine and eight and not seven kinglets. They are known under the name of *mutawāfir* kings. See pp. 447 and 450.

[4] Direction of prayer among the Muslims.

[5] Or: "King."

[6] Read *miyāh.*

[7] The river *daiṣān* of Edessa?

[8] Is it Paul of *Samosata?*

[9] A town situated east of Tripoli, in Syria. It was fortified in ancient times.

"Signs will be seen in heaven, the sun will darken and soil will fall from heaven on the earth, which will cover its inhabitants. Mighty men will immediately perish, and the temple of the lion at *Baalbeck* will be destroyed. *Manīḥ*[1] will be rebuilt and buildings will increase in it and waters[2] will flow into it, which will divide themselves into different streams. Woe to *Paran* and to *Ara'mān*[3] because they will be ploughed in conjunction with the preceding towns in a week and a half.

"After that a King will reign whose name is (. . .), and after him another King called (. . .). Woe to towns, villages, and sown fields under the reign of these two Kings. The three mountains will then bend. At that time when the fourth *Nubian* King has passed away, four Kings will rise from the people whom I have described. The first of them will live a short time only, but the three others will have long reigns. The first King whose life will be short will be from the first six and two of the remaining three will be of the same family, and they will perish before the end of the days of the fourth King.[4]

"When wars and murder increase in this nation, and the earth is filled with tribulations, fifty nations will come out against it and tread on it. At their head will be a King leading many other kings, and they will fight on sea and land, and the seas will be strewn with ships full of warriors,[5] one of whom will chase a thousand and two put ten thousand to flight.[6] Then the aforesaid people will prepare to depart for *Nisibin*, and afterwards they will flee one and all into the deserts whence they came out. Then the Christian King residing in the city of *Antioch* will repair to *Rome*, and there he and the Kings of *India* and *Cyrus*[1] will unite with *Sind* and *China*. They will make a mutual compact[2] to fulfil the wishes of those who believe in me and (to punish) those who hate them, and they will be given great power so that one of them will defeat a thousand. This I will grant to those who follow me and believe in me as God.

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[1] Is it possible that this *Manīḥ* refers to *Manīḥah*, a locality near Damascus? (Yāḳūt, *Mu'jam al- Buldān*, iv, 673).

[2] Read *miyāh*.

[3] Possibly *'Arramān*, a town near the district of Ḥaurān in the province of Damascus (Yāḳūt, *Mu'jam al- Buldān*, iii, 655).

[4] The translation of all this sentence is uncertain.

[5] Read *muḳātilin*.

[6] Deut. xxxii. 30.

"O Peter, in that time Jerusalem will be rebuilt and its rampart[3] will be reconstructed. My temple will be re-erected, and *Jerusalem* will be rejuvenated after her old age, and will shine like the rays of the sun and like the flames of a burning fire. Know, O Peter, that the lion's whelp, who is entrusted with the task of helping the believers, will show his head in order to fight his enemies. When he has finished thirty-one years in power, he will have, with the assistance of fifty[4] Kings, gained possession of all the earth. When he has reigned fifty-one years, your Kingdom, O Peter, will be great and you will increase in glory. O Peter, when the nations intensify their hatred against your people it will be a message of salvation to them, and let them take refuge from place to place.

"O Peter, have you not heard the words of my beloved David in his Psalms in which he says: 'I will lift up my eyes to see from whence cometh my salvation, and it cometh from the creator of heaven and earth?'[5] O Peter, blessed are those who dwell in the four surrounding[6] mountains which you will encompass till the end of the world. I will make them dwellings of salvation, and all[7] who go and repair to them will prosper.

"Woe to treasures and towns in the time preceding[8] the rising of the lion's whelp, because religion[9] will vanish in east and west. The virgins will be deflowered and the faithful,[10] especially the priests, will be killed all over the world; the water-pools of the earth will cease to exist and the villages will be destroyed with a lightning speed.

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[1] The author seems to refer by this word to Persia in general.

[2] Probably read *yata'āhadūna*.

[3] Read *sūruha*.

[4] If we read *Khamsīn* in the accusative, the meaning would be "he will have defeated fifty Kings and gained possession of all the earth."

[5] Ps. cxxi. 1-2.

[6] From the Syriac *krakh*.

[7] Probably read *kullu man*.

[8] Read *Ḳabl*. This proves that the text from which the present Garshūni MS. is derived was in early and undotted Arabic characters, because it is in Arabic only that the letters *bā'* and *yā'* are graphically similar and distinguishable by extraneous dots placed above or below the letters.

[9] I read *ad-dīn*.

[10] Read *al-mu'minūn*.

"You will see that the kings will assemble near one King, and three Kings will be established. Divisions will occur between them from the place where the sun rises to the sea. (And that one King ?) will appear from the south in glory and majesty, and the heart of the iniquitous nation will be seized with fear, and they will return[1] to the country from which they came. (That one King ?) will be accompanied by a man from the first house, and their discomfiture will be due to this man.

"O Peter, you will see your great city in a state of commotion, and from it will go out a considerable number of people, who will fill the earth. And you will see the standard bearer coming out of the *Capitolium*[2] of the great city of Rome. When you see all these things you will know that a complete salvation has come to those who believe in me. The name of the standard bearer who will come out of the *Capitolium* is derived from my name, and my name will be inscribed on the standard. He is the lion's whelp from whom the earth will shake with fear. When he appears he will repair to the country of *Yuḳīyah.*[3] The islands of *Cyprus* and *Sicily* will be full of his troops, and the cities will rejoice.

"O Peter, your great city of *Rome* will awake out of her sleep, and the armies of *Cyrus* and of *India* will assemble at that time in *Jerusalem* and worship my cross. My right hand will be[4] over the city of *Rome*, and I will order the heavenly hosts to come to its assistance.[5] The land and the sea will be filled with the inhabitants of *Mauriḳiyah*, and there will be an uproar in the earth on account of the blood shed on it. The enemy, however, will never prevail upon *Rome* because of its being your seat, O Peter. At that time[6] all the Kings of the earth will be in the power of the lion's whelp, and five-sixths[7] of the (inhabitants of the) world will believe in me. The Kingdom of the lion's whelp will be immune from vicissitudes till the time in which the sign of my rain-bow is seen on the clouds of heaven, and that sign will herald the time of my second coming into the world.

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[1] Read *tarjiʿ* and *al-lati.*

[2] Read *Kabiṭolion.* This proves decisively that the text from which the present MS. was copied was in undotted Arabic characters, because it is only in Arabic that the letters *bā'* and *yā'* are written in the same way and distinguished only by extraneous dots placed above or below them.

[3] Is it possible to read here *Ṭaraḳiyah* "Thrace"? The mistake could easily have arisen in undotted Arabic characters.

[4] Read *takūn.* [5] Read *bi-muʿāḍhadatiha.* [6] Add *al-waḳt.*

[7] I read *asdās* for *asdād*, which generally means "barriers."

"Know, O Peter, that when the Son of Perdition perishes, sins will increase among men. Tell your people, O Peter, that false prophets[1] will rise, and warn your nation to beware of the nation described above. Inform them that any of them who denies me in their time, I will throw him into the eternal torment. Proclaim to them that that nation will hate me and all who believe in me. O Peter, woe to those who deny me, and blessed are, O Peter, those who believe in me. Those who endure the tribulations till the end will live for ever and ever; and those who die in my love will be counted as martyrs; and those who endure tribulations and afflictions for my sake I will forgive their sins, double their reward, and make them inherit the Kingdom of Heaven which does not end nor perish and the pleasures of which no created being has ever known.[2]

"O Peter, keep what I have taught you, and know that I am not going to forsake my people nor ever to abandon them. A time will come when the children of the wolf will seemingly triumph and inflict numerous and severe tribulations; when your noble city will be surrendered, and its inhabitants[3] will suffer all kinds of torments and intense pains from their (enemies') priests; when your city's sons will be deported and their daughters deflowered by the children of the wolf, for the duration of a week and a half. Blessed will be those who at that time go out of the city and flee from it, because woe will fall on it and I will not save it in order that my will may be done in it. Blessed will then be those who dwell in the mountains.

"When those who believe[4] in me in the city have been killed and have become therein martyrs for my sake, then will I show my salvation in a way in which my right hand will be over the sea and my left over the land. At that time the children of the wolf will be cursed by their wives.[5] O Peter, when twelve signs have appeared in your city tell its inhabitants to flee from it before the remaining signs take place in it. (Those signs) will occur in it, and all the believers found in it will perish. When false intelligence increases among the children of the wolf, and lies spread, and fornication and adultery multiply among them ; and when awe-inspiring visions, false witness and bad thoughts concerning the honour of my people, occur, let all those who are able to flee do so.

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[1] Read *kadhaba.*

[2] Add *wamā* before the verb.

[3] Read *sākinūha.*

[4] Read *al-mu'minūm.*

[5] The verb of the first member of this sentence is omitted by the copyist, and the meaning of all the sentence is thus rendered obscure.

"In that day many men will deny me, and will taunt one another. Know, O Peter, that if the lion's whelp roars and waxes angry on account of disappointment, I will send *Michael*, the angel of war, to the vanguard of his army, with the sword of anger and wrath, as I did in the times of yore with the Kings of *Babylon*, and as it happened to *Moses* my elect when he drowned *Pharaoh* in the sea, and as it happened also in the case of King *Asa*. In this way will I act with my people. In front of them[1] will be the lion's whelp, who will strike all the unbelievers with his sword and bring terror into their hearts.

"When[2] the rebellious King has repented and turned away from his rebellion and when our Lord has become a saviour, I will set (Him) up (as) the King with six names.[3] I will bring salvation through him, because he is the saviour[4] adorned with many names. With him I have placed *Michael* the man of the golden sword and the holder of the spear. At his right will be the Cherubim and Seraphim who will fight before him with twelve myriads of angels. On two memorable occasions I will fill all mankind with tremour and fear.

"And woe unto them that are with child and to them that give suck[5] at the time when the children of *Ishmael* shall come forth from the country of *Persia*. When you have seen the dead rising ; those immersed in sleep awaking ; the world excited by the instructions of the Guide ; the lion roaring and in its supplications to me its roar heard in all regions ; the Rebel repenting and the Insurgent making penitence ; those going astray coming to the right path ; rout[6] spreading ; the fallen rising ; the old things renovated ; the waves of the sea stilled ; the aged becoming young : know that the time is at hand. O Peter, when murder and death increase[7] in the regions (of the earth), and the chiefs rise capriciously against your people and your flocks, for two weeks of middle length, woe will fall on them for a short week and a half.

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[1] Read *muḳaddamatihim*. [2] Read *wa-'idh*.
[3] Or : "the sixth King in the order of names."
[4] The Syriac *pār ūḳa*. [5] Matt. xxiv. 19.
[6] Or : "waterless cloud," "twang of the bow," according to the way in which we read the word. [7] Read *kathura*.

"O Peter, when you see the inhabitants of the desert taking refuge between the two mountains, tell[1] your people to flee in haste from the towns. When you see women seized with the pangs of travail every day, and father and son having intercourse with one woman in one house, wake up, O Peter, with your people. When you see that abomination and fornication are practised openly; that those who deny me are on the increase, that the wives of the believers blacken[2] their hands with the leaves of the tree which I have cursed from among all the trees created on the earth: woe, again woe, and all woe to those of them who dye themselves with (these leaves) after they have received the baptism, because their lot[3] will be with those who shed the blood of the prophets, with those who cried out before *Pilate*, saying: 'Crucify Him.'[4] Good were it for the woman who dyes herself with the leaves of this tree if she had not been born.[5]

"O Peter, when you see women dressed in men's dresses[6] and *vice versa*, know that the time is at hand, and that the hour of judgment is come. O Peter, blessed is the man who is not born in the time in which the wolf comes out of *Jerusalem*. Know, O Peter, that at that time my churches will be divided and that the sea ports will be ruined. Calamities will befall my people: some of them will be driven out of their places, some of them will be driven out of their homes, and some of them will be burned with fire. Blessed are those who flee to me and take refuge near my sanctuary which is in the new *Jerusalem*, which has no abomination nor iniquity, and on which no one has trodden except my people, from the time in which they believed in me. The one to whom it was entrusted did not contradict my commandment because I was with him, and I shall not cease to be with him always, and he will be with me and to me, and I with him and to him. Through him I will conquer all the fortified cities, because I have made him my elect, and I have chosen him and was pleased with him.

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[1] Remove the *wāw*.

[2] Read *yusawwidna*.

[3] Read *ḥadhdhahunna*.

[4] Mark xv. 13-14, etc.

[5] *Cf.* Matt. xxvi. 24.

[6] The sentence is badly worded but the sense seems to be clear.

"O Peter, the city in which your body will be[1] placed, is the great city which has no blemish. I will make its inhabitants pure, and they will enjoy what is just and forbid what is wrong.[2] I will show my miracles in it, and I will establish in it the pillars of prophecy and priesthood, the sceptre of power and the throne of *David*; and this will remain in it for ever. It is *Jerusalem* the great, and I will honour it with the aforesaid mercies solely because of my love for you, O Peter. Make your mind clear, listen to my words, and know that all the books will undoubtedly perish and people will not believe in them nor in their contents, which they will ascribe to lies and falsehood. O Peter, woe to those who gave the lie to my signs. O Peter, when you see the priests despising and scorning them,[3] while wallowing in sins, and the common people railing at them and contradicting my commandments found in them, know that these are some of the signs of the end of the eon.

"When you see the heads of *Jerusalem* fallen victims to torments, destruction, and much sorrow, know that your noble city and the rest of the cities will be affected by similar calamities. When the sun has risen from the city of *Rome* and shone on a desert of the west, and its rays have embraced all the earth and burned the trees of the wild and elevated cypresses; when you see that fire has consumed the land of fear (which is the land) of *Egypt*;[4] that its running water has dried up; that its laurel has died out; that the powerful King has gone to the lion's whelp carrying great and costly gifts to him; that the wealth of *Egypt* has been carried to the west; and that fear has affected the sea: know that at that time the son of the wolf who devastates[5] and lays waste will come out. When you see that he inflicts on (the inhabitants of) *Egypt* dispersion, divisions and (punishment with the) sword; when you see that its inhabitants are perishing of murder and death; when you see that the community of those who deny me in it are perishing with the sword, and that famine is creeping into it together with grievous and incurable diseases: know that its ruin is at hand and that the wolf will trample on the country of the east where he will muster a great army. There his power will be brought to an end and his wives will be deported, and he will change his sins with them to simple apparel.[1]

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[1] Read *yakūnu*. [2] Ḳur'ān iii. 100, etc. [3] Read *biha*.

[4] Or: "of the countries (of the earth)" in general.

[5] The author uses the Syriac form of the participle.

"Woe to *Egypt* because of the calamities that will befall her from sea, land, and all sides. All men will strive to plunder its wealth, and the children of the wolf will cry to one another and say: 'Let us go to *Egypt*, wax rich in it and plunder its wealth.' They will ruin it and be proud of (their deeds) in it, but they will perish in it. O Peter, know that all my words will be fulfilled and my wish realised."[2]

Here ends the fifth[3] part of the Book of Clement.

Again the sixth part of the Book of Clement.

The Saviour said: "O Peter, make sure that your people do not deny me in the time of the coming of the trials, which will be doubled in the case of those who believe in me. Inform them that those of them who will endure the sword in their obedience to me will live with me in the last day, and I will make them inherit the Kingdom of Heaven which has no end and which will never cease to exist.

"O Peter, tell those who believe in me the following: 'When you see towns tottering, the earth shaking, armies constantly mustering[4] in the world, and fear and trepidation filling the hearts, girdle yourselves, prepare for war, and be in readiness. Know that I will keep alive those who will kill you and drive you away, in order that they may receive the torments prepared for them in the last day, because if I do not keep them none of them will be able to live on the earth.' O Peter, keep the secrets which I have disclosed to you, because their knowledge will be required at the end of the time, and it will only be found with few people.

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[1] So I translate the word *al-wadan* which may be translated in different ways. Its precise meaning in this sentence is obscure.

[2] Here the copyist adds in Syriac: "O brother-readers, pray for the wretched and the weak man who wrote, and for his father and mother. And recite a *Pater Noster* for the soul of the author and of the hearers."

[3] As the preceding part of the *Apocalypse of Peter* was called the "third part" the present part should have been named the "fourth part." According to this heading two parts are missing in the book. This, however, does not seem to be the case because the MS. is complete and its text appears to be continuous throughout. Either two parts are combined somewhere into one or this false division is due to an error on the part of the copyist. Because of uncertainties see what I wrote on this subject in the *Prefatory Note.*

[4] Read *wal-izdiḥāf.*

"Any one with whom these words of mine are found harm will befall him.[1] I did not deliver them to any of the pious men of antiquity. The priest *Phinehas*, the great Father *Jacob*, the aged *Abraham*, 'the friend,'[2] and *Isaac* who was offered to me in sacrifice, asked me to disclose to them something of that which I have unveiled to you, but I did not answer their prayers. In the same manner *Moses* prayed before me forty days, and asked me to reveal to him something of this secret,[3] but I did not do it; I did, however, disclose to him the place where (that secret) will be kept. And *Moses* disclosed what I had revealed to him from this secret to his disciple *Joshua*, son of Nun, and *Joshua* disclosed it to the priest *Phinehas*. And, O Peter, the priest *Phinehas* carried the book, which contains the secrets which I had revealed to him, to your great city,[4] where they will be made manifest.[5] (The book) will not be known for a long time, but when faith is made known it will be made known, and it will be found in the hands of men.

"Know, O Peter, that amongst the children of the wolf who at the appointed time will go out of the holy city, there will be a man whose origin and beginnings will be unknown. He will be the cause of many wars, will shed much blood, and will proclaim himself a King. After his death one of his relatives who will have a large head, blue eyes, and much cunning will appear after him. He will amass much wealth and his name will be (. . .). He will reign in the east, and being himself perverse, he will pervert others. His end will come at the hand of the tormentor[6] who has no pity.

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[1] We may possibly read *yazḥar* for *yuẓarr*, "to show."

[2] A title of Abraham in Arabic from Ḳur'an iv. 124, etc.

[3] Or possibly "mystery."

[4] Antioch or Rome.

[5] Read the verb in the feminine singular.

[6] So I translate the word *munawwil* which is difficult to understand in the context. Generally it means "a giver."

"Know, O Peter, that the country of *Persia* will be delivered to wars, and that of *Armenia* to destruction. When the said man of the barbarous[1] language inhabits the inner part of the town[2] of *Jerusalem*, the nations will flock to him, and the inhabitants of *Persia* will come and dwell in it. He will kill the believers found in it, and war will be waged therein.

"O Peter, take note of this: when you see that the east is overspread with the Persian language which my curse had kept hidden, and which I did not permit the prophet *Moses* to enumerate among the written[3] languages of mankind, because[4] (those who speak it) hate him and all those who believe in me: I will lay waste the country of this language, will scatter its inhabitants to the mountains, will uproot the foundations of its Kingdom, will redden my sword with its blood,[5] and will intensify my anger against it.

"When you see signs in the east and in the west, earthquakes spreading over the whole earth, fear entering the hearts and trepidation filling the chests: know that at that time the son of the wolf will appear. His wrath and his anger will spread over my churches, and (his followers) will satisfy their grudge against my people. All this will happen with my permission on account of the great number of the sins of my people and of my commandments which they have broken. The torments inflicted at that time on those who believe in me by the son of the wolf will last one short week and a half, (and he who endures them till the end)[6] shall be saved. O Peter, blessed are those who are not heavily laden, and blessed are those who have no burden to carry, because they will be the winners."[7]

Then the Son of the living God[8] said to me: "There are still many wonders which I wish to reveal to you, but the time to reveal them to you has not come yet."

And I worshipped before the Christ the Redeemer, O my son Clement, and said to Him: "O Saviour, tell your servant the time in which your servants will be delivered from the servitude of the children of the wolf; the duration of their power on the earth; and the period of their departure from the holy city. Will any of them remain in it, and what will be the condition of those of them who remain in it?"

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[1] The word used here is very uncommon.

[2] Remove the *wāw*.

[3] *Sifr* is probably the Syriac word *sifra*.

[4] Read *fali-dhālika*.

[5] Lit.: "will fill the sword of my wrath with it."

[6] *Cf.* Matt. xxiv. 13. Something seems to be missing in the text. I added the words between parentheses to give meaning to the sentence.

[7] Lit.: "the pious ones."

[8] This sentence is as usual in Syriac.

And my Saviour said to me: "Since you have wished it I will reveal to you all that will happen through the children of the wolf, from the beginning of their kingdom till its end. I will disclose to you the names of their Kings, what will befall them, and who will be their leader. I will tell you the reason why I will grant to them power over the earth and over the believers; and the length of time in which the believers[1] will remain in servitude; and the time in which power will be given to them; and how the beginning of the son of perdition is going to be; and how my second coming will take place; and how the HOUR will come and what will be the sign that will accompany it, and the calamities[2] that will befall my people in it; and what will happen to them after the Resurrection. What I am revealing to you I have not disclosed to any of the ancients, and I will not reveal to any one beside you."

And the Saviour said to me: "O Peter, know that when the leader of the children of the wolf appears, he will be taught the faith, which he will learn from the straying sheep who will be banished by my church to the deserts,[3] on account of his teaching about me the beliefs held by the Jews who hate me and my people. He will be a devouring wolf in sheep's skin.

"The apparition of that leader will take place in the year nine hundred of the era of *Alexander*, the king of the mighty.[4] That leader will be like a devastating wild ass on account of (the help) which he will receive from the children of *Kedar*. He will abhor peace, and will be like a violent camel. He will be the dragon with forty heads, twelve of which lurk[5] in wait and twenty eight sting to death.

"He will be profligate and fearful; he will agitate the seas, excite to rebellion, and put enmity (even in the household) of *Solomon*;[1] he will oppose the power of truth, destroy my law, and ruin the world; he is the ear of tares, the fruit of wormwood, and the mountain of poison; he is the sign of death, the river with brackish and salt water, and the sea of anger and wrath against mankind; he is the father of abomination,[2] and the tempest of swift lightnings; he is the man who whispers his words, deceitful and fraudulent; he is addicted to sexual intercourse and a lover of discord; he is neglectful of good, and diligent in evil; he is keen that his prescriptions should be observed, aad a hater of the children of my grace; he is the secret offspring of the second *Sodom*, which is worse than the first, and the evil progeny of *Gomorrah*; he is the embodiment[3] of falsehood, and the habitation of sin; he is the one who brings himself and his followers to destruction, and the murderer of his own household.

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[1] Read *al-mu'minūn*.

[2] Lit.: "the sins."

[3] Possible allusion to the monk Sergius Beḥira who, according to the tradition, was the mentor of Muḥammad.

[4] The year 900 of the Seleucids corresponds with A.D. 589. All this seems to refer to Muḥammad.

[5] I read *mutakāminah* for *mutakāmilah*, which means "perfect" and is meaningless in the sentence.

"He is the disciple of the *Archon*, the head of iniquities and the son of perdition, whom I mentioned to you at the beginning of the revelation of my secrets to you, and he is the prophet of falsehood whose name I have disclosed to you; he is the keeper[4] of the standard of the ungodly; he is the temple of the demons, and the rendezvous of the evil spirits; he is the plate-armour of malediction, the sword of extermination, and a greater murderer than all the other kings.

"His description is as follows: he will be dark-complexioned, slender and tall in stature, one-eyed, irascible,[5] and rancorous; he will have the tongue of a savage, will be quick in his gait, and drawling in his speech. He will be a man of false promises through which he will induce men to surrender to him. He will be a lover of women, a giver of assurances concerning this world and the world to come, and a habitual liar.

"O Peter, now that I have disclosed to you his name and his description, warn your people to be on their guard. The kingdom which he himself will establish will be small, but the kings who will rise after his death from his own relatives, will enhance his kingdom and consolidate his faith and his power. They will bless his name every day, will glorify him, magnify him and perpetuate his memory among them. They will inscribe his name on the walls of their houses, and they will go on pilgrimage to the place of his tomb, and afterwards to the temple of the great idol called *Sarḥ*. Inside the temple of this idol there are three other idols, one[1] of which is called *Solon*, another *Kolon*, and the third *Ḥotān*.[2] The helpers of the wild ass before his death, will be in them, and the members of his Council[3] will stand on them.

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[1] Lit.: "a spoiler between Solomon."

[2] Lit.: "joke."

[3] Lit.: "table."

[4] In the text *Mughammid*. The author has very cleverly used a vocable which is graphically similar to *Muḥammad*, which word he apparently intended to convey to his readers.

[5] Read *ghaḍhūb*. This proves that the original MS. was in Arabic in which the letters *'ain* and *ghain* are written in the same way and are only distinguishable by an extraneous dot placed over the letter.

"Against my wish his followers will build houses for their devotions and their worship near my houses. A good number of Jews will follow the wild ass, thus increasing his wickedness and imparting erroneous doctrines to him.[4] After the death of the sheep who strayed from my fold and became his mentor in his early days,[5] two men from the Jewish people will befriend him. The first letter of the name of the first one of them is *Kāf*.[6] After his death the people will bless his name and will relate false traditions from him. The first letter of the name of the second one is *Sīn*, and he will be by origin from the east. The above two men will write for the wild ass a book[7] compiled from all books. These two Jews will believe in me in some points and deny me in some other points. Like me that man will elect twelve disciples. O Peter, woe to these two ungodly Jews after him,[8] because they will be the men that will lead people astray from the faith. The first letter of the name of (a third ?) teacher of his is *Dāl*.

"The above three men are the root of ungodliness and iniquity. They will pervert what was right in the teaching of their master, and add wickedness to what was already wicked in it. Woe to them. Woe will undoubtedly betide them. Verily I say unto you, O Peter, that it will be more tolerable in the day of Resurrection and Judgment for *Judas* who betrayed me than for them.[1] His twelve disciples will wish after his death to trample on the land of *Jerusalem* and penetrate into it but I will frustrate their design.

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[1] Read *aḥaduha.*

[2] Without emendations I am unable to identify these idols in Arabic. Two of them, *Solon* and *Colon*, seem to be of Greek origin.

[3] So the MS., but if we read *anjāl* the meaning would be "his children." An extraneous dot only distinguishes the two words in Arabic characters.

[4] Read *wa-yu'allimūnahu.*

[5] Possible allusion to Sergius Beḥira as above.

[6] Read *Kāf* for *Kān*. No attempt has been made to identify the names the first letters of which are given in the text. The names identified by the copyist will as above be placed in the foot-notes.

[7] The Ḳur'ān ?

[8] I. e. after his death.

" Remember, O Peter, what I said to you before this day when I was teaching the Jews in the Temple to the effect that there shall not be left in the holy house one stone upon another that shall not be thrown down.[2] Know, O Peter, that I will make the Temple which *Solomon* built for me, as an habitation for[3] the opponents of the wild asses, but after that I will destroy it. O Peter, reveal that which I have revealed to you concerning the wild ass to those who believe in me in order that they may verify it for themselves and remain steadfast in their faith and not deny it. My words are indeed true and shall not pass away.[4] Hide, however, the words which I uttered concerning the wild ass till the time of his apparition. Rest assured that the son of sin will come and wage war against all those who believe in me, but I will not leave, nor take my hand away from, a single one of them. This I have promised to them. O Peter, blessed will be those who are steadfast in the faith and who love me and do not deny me, because they will be counted among the saints.

" Know, O Peter, that the son of perdition will order frequent marriages and will make shedding of blood and deportations lawful. A man will marry the wife of his brother, and also two sisters one after another. Near relatives will intermarry. A man will marry a woman, and his father[5] will marry her daughter—in case she has one. In his law of inheritance he will commit injustices towards the children, because he will give more to a son than to a daughter, and in this way the majority of mankind will withhold justice from their offspring. He who endures their subjection till the end shall live.

" The followers of that man will wish to harm my people, and if any of them kills a believer (in me) he will think[6] that he was offering a sacrifice to God.[7] He will pretend that those who kill and are killed among them will go to Paradise and to pleasures that have no end, and he will glorify the young and the old among them. His followers will abolish the Baptism which I have ordered, and their prayers will not resemble the prayers of any of the prophets which I have sent to the world and to the unjust[1] people of the children of Israel. They will construct high buildings from which they will call people to their prescribed prayers, and this will have the effect of quickening their steps to attend them, and thus they will imitate the actions of the children of the blessed *Ishmael*.[2]

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[1] *Cf.* Matt. x. 15, etc.

[2] *Cf.* Matt. xxiv. 2, etc.

[3] Or: against.

[4] Luke, xxi. 33, etc.

[5] Read *wa-abūhu.*

[6] Remove the *wāw* before the verb.

[7] John xvi. 2 (Peshiṭta).

"O Peter, were it not for two reasons, the first of which is my promise to *Abraham* and the second the multiplicity of the sins of my people, who utter to one another words that discourage belief in me, I would have sent to the holy land the swift Pharaonic chariots which carry both the Deceiver and the Error.[3] O Peter, feed my lambs, feed my sheep, feed every straying lamb and bring it back to the faith. Do not lose anything from what I have delivered to you. Know that the son of perdition about whom I spoke to you will befriend the sorcerers of *Egypt* and learn[4] their art, their cunning and their deceitfulness. Indeed, the first man who will befriend him from his three teachers mentioned above, the one who has the letter *Kāf* as the first letter of his name, will be[5] the disciple of sorcerers. They will strive to deceive those who believe in me.

"O Peter, verily I say unto you that after the death of the son of perdition I will send the savage beast to dig him out and devour his flesh, and before his death he will kill his teacher whose name begins with the letter *Sīn*. Because of this murder he will prohibit and render unlawful to himself a large variety of food and drink. Among the women whom he will marry one will be called "*She knows and she fears*."[6] She will be one[7] of those from whom sorcery will be learnt.

"After the death of the son of perdition in the dark and dry town, a man will rise after him, and the first letter of his name is '*Ain*. His outlook will be more human than that of his master who preceded him and than that of the kings who will follow him from that people.

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[1] Remove the *wāw*.

[2] This sentence is difficult to understand.

[3] About Deceiver and Error see *Ode of Solomon*, xxxviii. 10. The second member of the sentence is difficult to understand.

[4] Read *wa-yata 'allam*.

[5] Remove the first *wāw*.

[6] In Arab *ta'rif wa-takhāf*.

[7] Read *iḥda*.

He will not wish to shed blood, and he will be inclined to peace. He will be better than his people. His description is: brown coloured with red hue; full sized in height; well balanced in body, and dark-blue-eyed.[1] He will modify some of the prescriptions imposed (by his predecessor), and no one will be in a position to take objection to his actions. His reign will be of short duration, and he will die in the dark town in which there is no shade, but he will die (peacefully) in his bed. After his death his people will be in a position to add to or to subtract from his prescriptions.

"After him his place will be filled by a tall man with a brown patch in the eye, and the first letter of whose name is *Kāf*.[2] He will be a shedder of blood, a fighter, and a mighty man. He will conquer many towns, and will be addicted to deceit and wickedness—true son of his people. O Peter, many objectionable things will be done in his days, and no one will be able to take him to task,[3] and his decisions could not be over-ruled. He will add to, and subtract from, the book of his master which was composed by the three wicked men mentioned above. Through him many men will be killed, and with him there will be no authoritative interpretation of the book. He will not cease to meditate harm against all those who believe in me, and he will endeavour to enslave all[4] of them, but in vain, because I will thwart his designs.

"I will kindle wars in his days, with seditions and divisions, and I will not allow any of his children to reign after him. I will deliver them into the hands of their adversaries and their enemies. This will be the second iniquitous king after the son of perdition. Woe to the towns of the south because of the wars, murders, and arson that they will experience in his days. This King will grant amnesty to some of his adversaries, but he will go back on his word, because of his love of superiority. The days of his reign will be short, and he will die a grievous[5] death. I will speedily obliterate his memory from the earth, and he will go to the excruciating and eternal torments which are prepared for men who resemble him.

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[1] Here is a sentence which literally means "and he will call a pigeon." I am unable to give a better meaning to these words without textual emendations.

[2] The copyist identifies him as *Kasīra*. Vowels uncertain.

[3] Read *yaʻtariḍh*. [4] Read *jamiʻihim*. [5] Read *sawdā'*.

"After him will reign a King the first letter of whose name is *Ṭā'*.[1] He will be an insolent, a despotic and a loquacious man. In his days he will conquer the cities of the holy land,[2] and his troops will surround all those who believe in me. He will, however, be more just than the King who preceded him, although inclined to shed the blood of believers and prone to cast aspersions upon them. His description is: he will be of a swarthy complexion with reddish hue, an hypocrite with a double face which will show poverty and asceticism. He will conquer[3] *Damascus*,[4] and destroy the greater part of it. A considerable number of people will perish in it, and many of those who believe in me will flee from their places, and some of them will be murdered.

"With him there will be two cunning and deceitful men who will induce people not to surrender (the town).[5] The first letter of the name of one of them is *Mīm*,[6] and the first letter of the name of the other one, who will act for (the King) in his dealings with the people and give them amnesty, is *Alif*.[7] They will be like the two wings of the wicked eagle, but I will tolerate with patience their treatment of my people because of the great number of their sins.

"And the two will conquer your noble city, O Peter, together with many other cities, by their multifarious stratagems, which will not err on the side of humility. The one the first letter of whose name is *Alif* is better[8] than the one the first letter of whose name is *Mīm*, because the latter will delight in burning and destroying churches, and in killing and murdering all believers in me whom he will happen to subjugate. He will be appointed to *Mesopotamia* the towns of which he will destroy, and the inhabitants of which he will kill, and no one will be able to stand against him. He will repair to *Cilicia* which he will conquer, but the hostility existing between him and those who believe in me will deter him from going beyond it, and I will impede him from doing so.

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[1] The copyist identifies him as *Ṭaha*.

[2] Lit.: "house."

[3] Possibly *tuftaḥ*: "Damascus will be conquered."

[4] *Sha'm* means also "Syria."

[5] Lit.: "will delay people from entering," the meaning of which I cannot determine with certitude.

[6] The copyist identifies him here as *Muḥammad*. The copyist's identifications are mostly erroneous. If one had here to name a man the caliph Mu'āwiah and not the prophet Muḥammad would be the appropriate King. It is indeed Mu'āwiah who made Damascus his capital.

[7] The copyist identifies him as *Aḥmad*.

[8] Read *khairun*. The sentence is badly worded.

"Woe to *Damascus* because of him, as he will make it his capital and gather his treasures in it. Woe to *Judas Iscariot* who betrayed me to the Jews, and woe to *Judas the Damascene* who will betray my people to the pagans so that they should be murdered by them through his machinations. Woe to the traitoress, because the boulders of her mountains will be tinged with the blood of those who believe in me, a blood that the plains will absorb. Woe to the betrayer of trust, the son of the tares, the wormwood of the beginning of blindness. Woe to the two accursed *Armenians.*

"(At that time) the believers in me will be killed[1] in great numbers such as never before and never after, and they will take refuge in the littoral of the sea. All this will happen in the days of the King who does not love me, who gnashes his teeth at me, and the first letter of whose name is *Hā'*.[2] It is from him that the power in the holy land will be taken and given to the King whom we have mentioned above, and who has the two wicked men with him. He will raise the tribute to be paid by my people, and the two men who are with him will harass the world. The majority of the believers will be killed through them, and they will storm lofty mountains, raze high hills, demolish elevated pillars and ruin large cities.

"The sea will lose its stormy character in their days, and sea and land will become smooth for them. They will subjugate the countries of *Persia*, in the east, together with *Abirom* the place of the giants, and along with the town built on the site of *Nineveh*[3] to which the prophet *Jonah* brought his message. Those two men will have as much mercy as that of *Beṣalyā'*[4] and as much artfulness as that found in a brigand.[5] All the inhabited lands will tremble before them,[6] especially before the one the first letter of whose name is *Mim*,[7] because he will be zealous in behalf of his people.

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[1] I have slightly modified in the translation the wording of this sentence which is very complicated.

[2] The author identifies him as *Herod.* Is it Heraclius?

[3] Lit.: "the second Nineveh."

[4] Vowels uncertain.

[5] I prefer *nāhib* to *nahb* "brigandage."

[6] Read *minhumā.*

[7] The copyist identifies him on the margins as Muḥammad (*sic*).

"A man the first letter of whose name is '*Ain*[1] will be the third leader[2] of his people, and the beginning of trouble and of cruel deeds. Ten signs will mark the sum total of the days of his reign with the addition of three others as a complement of his hostile deeds against my children.[3] He will erect a house for their prayers, and in conjunction with his two companions, will conquer *Jerusalem* and a great part of the holy land together with the house which *Solomon* built for me. I shall, however, cast the fear of this house in their hearts, in order that it may be made a place for their own prayers.

"O Peter, I told you previously about this, and let it be known to you that I[4] will make of this house a place of hunted game and of flesh of wild beasts, and my name will never be mentioned in it. When the days of the lion's whelp are over he will demolish that house and not leave in it one stone upon another.[5] He will make it also a refuge for the sick and the cripples, and the blasphemy coming out of the mouth of this people will be heard in it. And this people will kindle the zeal of my people in the west and in *Jarbā*[6] because from there I will call my people and they will sweep with anger and wrath over all the inhabitants of the earth, as my chosen prophet[7] has prophesied.

"And that King will despatch his soldiers to the new *Jerusalem*, which will be near (to him), and they will surround my kingdom that is there. I will not grant him victory, however, over it, and I will destroy his troops with death, intense cold and hunger, and with my other plagues; and those that remain alive I will drive out of there discomfited and routed. And that King will imitate in all his actions the days of the first people.

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[1] The copyist identifies him on the margin as '*Ali*. '*Umar* would be more appropriate.

[2] *Imām*.

[3] This sentence is difficult to understand and my translation of it is uncertain.

[4] Read *anni*.

[5] *Cf.* Matt. xxiv. 2, etc.

[6] This phrase is very difficult and my translation of it is very uncertain. We shall see below that this incomprehensible *Jazzi* or *Jazā* (vowels uncertain) is found five times in our MS. of the *Apocalypse of Peter*. From a comparison with Mingana, Syr. 441 (fol. 76^a), we learn that it is a copyist's error for *Jarbā* which may denote the small town about which see Yākūt's *Mu'jam al- Buldān*, ii, 46-48 (edit. Wüstenfeld). It lay near the ancient Roman road from Boṣra to the Red Sea, about an hour's journey north of Adhruḥ. Its name is often found in Muslim tradition in connection with the size of the "Prophet's cistern" which "extended from Adhruḥ to Jarbā" (Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad*, ii, 21, (edit. Cairo)). It was inhabited almost exclusively by Christians. Can it refer to the same *Jarbā* as that mentioned by Ya'ḳūbi in his general history (see fol. 41^b of the Arabic MS. No. 801 in Rylands Library) as having possessed *mamālik* (kingdoms)?

[7] *I.e.* Isaiah. *Cf.* Is. xlix. 12.

"After the death of that King another King will be elected from the children of the '*Abūs*,[1] as I promised to them; and at the death of the fourth of these Kings, one of the two of the said wicked men who acted as viziers to some of the four Kings, will reign;[2] and it will be the one the first letter of whose name is *Mīm*.[3] He will only reign a few days, and I will destroy him and not leave him any power.

"At the death of those four Kings, a King[4] will rise from that people, the first letter of whose name is *Hā’*.[5] He will fight his cousins and take the power from them. Many of the learned men of his nation will die through him, and he will be a murderer and a shedder of blood, a lover of iniquity and fornication. He will not resemble in his actions any of his predecessors whom we have mentioned, and he will be hasty in his decisions.[6] He will contradict his own words, and in his religion he will follow iniquitous rules that are more perverse than those of his predecessors. I will not lift my hand to prevent him and his people from acting as they wish towards my children, because I have established those[7] men as a rod of correction[8] to the children of inheritance.

"And that man will reign from east to west, but the greater part of his kingdom will be in the centre of the earth, and his capital will be *Damascus* where also will be found his glory. His birthplace will be the town of *Kāf*,[1] and in it he will display his insolence and utter his blasphemies. He will go forth to the littoral with spears, and much blood will also be shed from the inhabitants of *Persia* and other countries. *Egypt* will be brought under his rule, and he will despatch his soldiers against the children of *Ham*, from whom he will deport and enslave many people. He will be the owner of a great arsenal, and he will amass great booty. He will impose a double tribute on those who believe in me, and a considerable number of my people will perish by his hand. The inhabitants of *Persia* will submit to him and will bring gifts to him together with their tribute.

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[1] To express the word "lion" the author generally uses the word '*abūs*. Now this word is derived from the verb '*abasa* which means "to be stern, austere in countenance" and which forms also the root of the proper name '*Abbās*, the son of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib the paternal uncle of the Prophet, who gave his name to the 'Abbasid dynasty of the Caliphs of Baghdad. Is it possible that the author is cleverly playing on the root '*abasa* and alluding to the 'Abbasid dynasty and thus killing two birds with one stone?

[2] Cod. "will perish." All this sentence is badly worded and difficult to understand.

[3] The copyist identifies him again as Muḥammad.

[4] Read *malikun*.

[5] The copyist identifies him again as *Herod*.

[6] Lit.: "He will fall before him."

[7] Delete the *lām*.

[8] *Cf.* Prov. xxiii. 13-14.

"The description of this king is: tawny complexion with a ruddy tinge; full size in height; big head; small eyes; cunning and sly mouth; deceitful; handsome in body; of a jealous disposition; inexorable to his enemies and to those who seek his hospitality and the asylum of his kingdom. He will be the fourth King of the kings of the one-eyed son of perdition. He will endeavour to kill the sons of the man the first letter of whose name is '*Ain*,[2] but I will frustrate his design and his evil thought concerning them, and it will be (the inmates of) their house and his own house that will kill them, because they will seek the kingdom to themselves as their rightful inheritance. They will multiply wars and kill men, in search of power, which they will not obtain,[3] because I will not be pleased to see them reign till the end of time.

"At the end of time a man from them will reign, who will repair to *Persia*, and his cousins will consolidate his kingdom. From them the lion's whelp will take the kingdom and deliver it to a man the first letter of whose name is *Mīm*.[4] This man will fulfil the commandments. At that time another king will rise,[5] the first letter of whose name is *Yā'*.[6] He will attain the kingdom by force, and he will kill my people along with a man from the children of the wolf.

The fifth king will have the letter *Jīm* at the beginning of his name. He will be the cause of deportations and iniquitous actions, and he will build many towns and demolish others. He will not be loved at the palace nor thanked,[1] because of his selfishness, his family pride, his warlike disposition, his tampering with justice, his love for amassing wealth, and because of his being the head of the children of the *'Abūs.* Wars will not cease in his time, and in them men will not refrain from shedding blood.

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[1] It is possible that the author means here a town the first letter of the name of which is *Kāf*.

[2] The copyist identifies him again as '*Ali*.

[3] Read *yanālūnaha*.

[4] The copyist identifies him again as *Muḥammad*.

[5] Add *yaḳūm* or *ya'ti* or a similar verb.

[6] The copyist identifies him as *Yāsīn*.

"He will entertain evil designs against my people, but I will frustrate his plans, because I am with you, O Peter, and with my people till the end. I will not leave them orphans of me, nor bereaved of my grace, but I will shepherd them and not contradict[2] my word concerning them, that I will be with them[3] for ever.[4] I will stay with you in *Jerusalem*, O you holder of the keys of heaven. Do not grieve, O Peter, on account of the insolent nation which I will cause to subjugate the world in order to chastise my people. Indeed that nation will be dyed with (the blood) of my people whom it will harass.

"Know, O Peter, that were it not for the sake of the supplication of my father[5] *Abraham* in the dark country, I would not have multiplied the posterity of *Ishmael.* I caused *Abraham* to love (Ishmael) because I was aware of the (future) actions (of his children)[6] whom I would set over all. I gave the kingdom to the Children of *Ishmael* the offspring of *Abraham* in order to chastise through them all the nations that rebel against me.

"O Peter, woe to the land of *'Irāḳ* on account of the King whom I have mentioned,[7] because in his days murder, pestilence, and iniquitous decisions will be on the increase. This King will also have his seat in *Damascus*, but his wars will be in *Mesopotamia*, the land of the four rivers that flow out of Paradise. His kingdom will be firm, and he will defeat the men of his house together with his cousins, and he will demolish the pillars of their might, but with him divisions[8] will begin in his nation.

"Woe to them because of that which will befall them through me. In his words to his friends he will give the lie openly to his master and to his imam—a thing that was not done by any of his predecessors. He will be hated and cursed by some of his followers and men of his party, but loved by some others. From the party of his master a man will appear[1] (to thwart him). He will be in a position to do this because of the fear with which he will inspire others, and because of the great number of murders that will be committed among the people. He will kindle war among the tribes, and will amass[2] much wealth. He will seek the treasures of the earth like a biting dragon which seeks to sting.

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[1] Delete the final *hā'*.

[2] Lit. "I will not remove."

[3] Read *minhum.*

[4] *Cf.* Matt. xxviii. 20, etc.

[5] Read *abi.* About all this *cf.* Gen. xxi. 9-21.

[6] This sentence is difficult to understand, and my translation of it is not certain.

[7] The copyist adds here "and he is *Yāsīn.*"

[8] I read *al-firaḳ.*

"O Peter, he is the accursed (dragon) with seven heads which *Daniel* saw by revelation in his vision.[3] Indeed the one about whom Daniel spoke in his prophecy is this king.[4] He is the devouring crocodile that rises from the Nile of *Egypt*, and he is the second *Terah*. Woe to the land on which he treads, and blessed be the land from which he is driven out, because he is of the children of the vipers, full of wrath and anger.[5] [6] He will, however, refrain from doing anything before taking the advice of his friends, and he will at all events act more kindly towards those who believe in me than the rest of them, and he will amass great wealth from the earth.

"After his death he will be succeeded by another King the first letter of whose name is *Wāw*.[7] He will be a shedder of blood, a lover of women, and a degenerate. He will hate those who believe in me, will be jealous of his friends, and will be prone to bribery. He will see that a company (of his friends) are not fit to govern.

"After his death he will be succeeded by a man the first letter of whose name is *Sīn*.[8] His reign will be of short duration in the world, and his affairs will be in great disorder. He will endeavour to enhance his prestige and to imitate the wise Solomon, but his wishes will not be fulfilled.

"After his death he will be succeeded by another King, the first letter of whose name is *'Ain.*[1] He will be the son of a man the first letter of whose name is also *'Ain.*[2] His reign in the world will also be of short duration, and he will make show of governing and acting with justice. He will hate the believers in me and kill them, and his Capital will be the holy land, and in his days there will be earthquakes and signs.

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[1] Probably delete the final *hā'*.

[2] Read *jam'*.

[3] In Dan. vii. 7 the beast had ten horns. The author is probably wishing to quote the Book of Rev. xii. 3, where mention is made of a dragon with seven heads. Such a dragon does not occur in Daniel.

[4] The sentence is badly worded.

[5] Read *rujzan* from Syriac *rughza*.

[6] There is here a sentence which is unintelligible without textual emendations.

[7] The copyist identifies him as *Wālid* (*sic*).

[8] The copyist identifies him as *Surba* (*sic*).

"After his death a King[3] will rise after him the first letter of whose name is *Yā'*,[4] and he will be the son of a man the first letter of whose name is *'Ain.*[5] He will have a short reign, and after his death he will be succeeded by a King the first letter of whose name is *Hā'.*[6] The latter will be the son of a man the first letter of whose name is *'Ain.*[7] He will be more generous than the Kings who preceded him, (but) he will be an iniquitous man and a lover of divisions. He will amass wealth, and will be bent on building palaces and shedding blood, especially the blood of those who believe in me.

"After his death he will be succeeded by a King the first letter of whose name is *Yā'.*[8] He will have a short reign, and he will perish quickly in a sea after having promulgated laws that had not been promulgated by any of his predecessors.

"After him will reign a King the first letter of whose name is *Yā'.*[9] He will be the son of a man the first letter of whose name is *Wāw.*[10] He will reign a few months only—about half a year—and then he will perish on account of the evil designs that he will entertain against those who believe in me. He will undertake the task of harassing them, but I will do away with him before he does away with them, and I will destroy his Kingdom.

"After him will reign one of his brothers the first letter of whose name is *Alif.*[11] He will be the son of a man the first letter of whose name is *Wāw.*[12] His government will be of short duration, because a company of men from his own household will revolt against him and endeavour to snatch the reins of power from him. At that time I shall sow the seed of wars between them, and take the power from some of them and give it to some others in order that my will may be done.

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[1] The copyist identifies him as *'Ali.*

[2] The copyist identifies him as *'Umar.*

[3] Read *malikun.*

[4] The copyist identifies him as *Yāsīn.*

[5] The copyist identifies him as *'Uthmān.*

[6] The copyist identifies him again as *Herod.*

[7] The copyist identifies him as *'Ali.*

[8] The copyist identifies him again as *Yāsīn.*

[9] The copyist identifies him again as *Yāsīn.*

[10] The copyist identifies him again as *Wālid.*

[11] The copyist identifies him as *Aḥmad.*

[12] The copyist identifies him as *Wāwīr* (*sic*).

"After[1] his death he will be succeeded by a King the first letter of whose name is *Mīm.*[2] He will be the son of a man the first letter of whose name is also *Mīm.*[3] He will be an ungodly[4] and iniquitous man, and the devotion of the people to him will gradually wax weak, because of his overbearing. He will kill many men from his own community and from others, will muster many troops, and will perish with the sword.

"The reason why the majority of the Kings of this people will die an ignominious and violent death, and the reason why their lives will be so short, so contemptible, and so ephemeral like a dream, is that I will it to be so for the sake of my beloved ones. O Peter, I will shorten their days[5] and then quickly fold them like parchment, and cause them to evanesce like smoke[6] as if they had never existed, for the sake of your lambs.

"After his death he will be succeeded by another King who will not be from his royal house. The first letter of his name will be *Mīm,*[7] and he will be the son of a man the first letter of whose name is '*Ain.*[8] He will also count (or, be counted) by a knot and a third of a knot.[9] He will seize the reins of government through his victory in the middle day,[10] at the time when the kings and governors of that people shall have ceased to exist. The rest of his kingdom will be counted from the day in which that vigilant king will reign.[11] I will speak to him in Greek, and the interpretation (of his name) is '*the last things.*'[12]

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[1] Add *fa'idha.* [2] The copyist identifies him as *Maḥmūd.*

[3] The copyist identifies him again as *Muḥammad.*

[4] Read *munāfiḳan.* [5] Read *ayyāmahum.* [6] *Cf.* Ps. lxviii. 2.

[7] The copyist identifies him again as *Muḥammad.*

[8] The copyist identifies him as '*Umar.*

[9] I do not understand this sentence which seems to refer to a duration of time. It may be translated differently according to the meaning given to the word '*uḳdah.* [10] Which day is this "middle day"?

[11] Here are two words that I cannot understand without textual emendations.

[12] This sentence is badly worded, and my translation of it is not certain.

"This King will become insolent and will not remember my name. He will hate those who love me and will be favourably disposed towards the Jewish people. He will endeavour to harm those who believe in me, and will impose double tribute on them, and will act unjustly in his days. When I notice this from him, I will raise in his time a man the first letter of whose name is *Sīn*,[1] and will make him prevail upon him. Then I will raise a man the first letter of whose name is *Alif*,[2] and he will be the son of a man the first letter of whose name is *Kāf*.[3] He will be known as a good man, but he will be killed.

"After him will rise a man the first letter of whose name is *‘Ain*,[4] and he will be the son of a man the first letter of whose name is also *‘Ain*.[5] He will be a leper and will seize power by force, and his victory will be in the middle day.[6] He will give[7] the kingdom to his children, but all of them who would be elegible will die a violent death. He will be stern, dominating, imperious, and masterful among the people. He will love to shed blood and to destroy the valiant men, in order that no[8] man may rise up and acquire dignity; and he will amass much wealth.

"After his death he will be succeeded by a man the first letter of whose name is *Mīm*, son of a man the first letter of whose name is *‘Ain*. He will be from the descendants of the second Kingdom of this people. He will be more righteous than those who preceded him, and a lover of goodness, generosity and benevolence. He will govern his kingdom with justice, and he will be endowed with a noble character, but his reign will be of short duration.

"After his death he will be succeeded by a man the first letter of whose name is *Mīm*. His reign will be short but his power will be great. He will amass much wealth, and will impose double tax and tribute upon the people. He will extort money from those who believe in me by taxing even their dead, and he will interfere with the graves of people who had died a long time previously. At that time and in the days of this King many people[1] from those who believe in me will deny me on account of his oppressive measures and the hardships inflicted on them by him. Touched with pity for the sufferings of the believers, the angels and the martyrs together with the walls of the churches and the images of saints will burst into tears.

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[1] The copyist identifies him as *Sineras* (*sic*).

[2] The copyist identifies him again as *Aḥmad*.

[3] The copyist identifies him as *Ḳāfiḥ* (*sic*).

[4] The copyist identifies him again as *‘Uthmān*.

[5] The copyist identifies again as *‘Ali*.

[6] Which day is again this "middle day"?

[7] Possibly read *wa-yu‘ṭi*.

[8] Add *lā*.

"A number of people will envy the dead[2] in his days, and they will cry to them[3] and say: 'Blessed are you because you have not lived down to this time and seen what we have seen, and suffered the hardships and the privations which we have suffered. In that hardship the heaven will drizzle ashes[4] and my churches will weep.' O Peter, when you see the dead believers dug out of their graves and the living believers sold like slaves, and a great affliction penetrating into the hearts of men, know that woes have befallen those believers in me who had been expatriated. I will reward them,[5] however, a thousand fold, and I will fill the eyes of men with tears to be shed over them. Know that the believing maidens will learn how to lament from the intensity of their weeping[6] due to the severity of their suffering, which will shake the earth (with horror). A number of people will wish they had not been born.

"After the death of the said King, he will be succeeded by another King the first letter of whose name is *Kāf*.[7] He will be the son of a man the first letter of whose name is *Mīm*. He will be less harmful[8] to his people than his predecessors. The period of his reign will be three complete short weeks and a little of a fourth week. He will possess an amiable disposition, and injustice will decrease in his days.

"After his death he will be succeeded by another King the first letter of whose name is *Mīm*. He will be the son of a man the first letter of whose name is *Ḥā'*. His reign[9] will last three short weeks, and he will be young. He will be pusillanimous and stubborn, and he will introduce innovations out of his own head for the betterment of his Kingdom.

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[1] Read *khalḳun kathīrun*. [2] Delete the *wāw*. [3] Read *lahum*.

[4] Read *ramādan*. [5] Possibly read *'ujāzīhim*.

[6] Read *bukā'ihinna*, and put all the other nouns in fem. plur.

[7] The copyist identifies him as *Khaṭṭāb*. [8] Read *khairun*.

[9] Read *muddatuhu*.

"After his death he will be succeeded by a King the first letter of whose name is *Hā'*, and he will reign three short weeks. He will govern with justice and will love those who believe in me. Know, O Peter, that in this nation there will be no better King than this King. He will love me in secret, and will not be able to show his love for me from fear of his subjects and his relatives. There will be no better man than he in this nation. I will fill his heart with wisdom, understanding and high knowledge, so that he should be the most learned man of his nation and the most versed in all my affairs. The believers[1] in me will hold many high offices under him, and all of them will be loved[2] by him. He will spend happy and quiet days and I will continually protect him. He will be the last of this people to hold power. He will be a great deceiver[3] and the end of his day he will deceive even his own brother, and this will be the cause of his downfall. He will die a violent death outside his Kingdom, and will be succeeded by a Pharaonic man who will harass those who believe in me and destroy many towns. The first letter of his name is *Mīm*.[4] He will oppress many countries and deport their inhabitants. He will do wonderful things in the provinces (of his dominion) and he will be a great lover of his co-religionists and a hater of those who believe in me.

"After his death he will be succeeded by a man the first letter of whose name is *Hā'*. He will hate those who believe in me and impede them from reconstructing my churches which he will abhor together with those who frequent them. Many wonders will be noticed in his days,[5] and his power will be strong both in the east and in the west. He will designate the places that are to be built but he will not finish his work of building them. An ungodly company (of lieutenants) will govern his kingdom, and when he perishes he will die a grievous death, and many men from his nation will perish through him.

"He will be succeeded by an insolent man the first letter of whose name is *Jīm*. He will spend some days of his reign in the centre of *Syria*.[1] He will have an intense hatred of those who believe in me, and he will harass them as no one else had done before him. He will kill a number of them at the instigation of their enemies, but (in that) he will not be following their advice. In day time he will change his garments, thinking that in this he will act avariciously towards them, and not knowing that he will adorn them with his garments.[2] He will deride their faith, impose double tribute on them, and envy their possessions. He will destroy my churches in *Syria* and carry the brass which they contain, and with it he will erect palaces.

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[1] Read *al-mu'minūn.*

[2] I read *yakun.* With other slight changes the sentence may give some other meanings.

[3] This statement seems to be irreconcilable with what has preceded. It is possible that there is a short lacuna in the text although the MS. does not show it.

[4] The copyist identifies him again as *Muḥammad.*

[5] There is here a sentence which I do not understand, and which literally means "from eternity and similar things."

"He will indulge in innovations previously unknown, and he will cleave stubbornly to his own opinions in the government of his Kingdom. He will have with him, however, a man of Jewish extraction whose advice he will follow in the doors of evil[3] and in the hardships that he will inflict on my people. The teaching of this King concerning his religion will contravene the teaching of the majority of his co-religionists. He will be a lover of women and inclined to fornication. He will erect very many buildings[4] in *Damascus*, his Capital, and he will die a grievous and ignominious death.

"After his death he will be succeeded by a man the first letter of whose name is *Alif*. He will have a short reign and he will be benevolent and generous, but he will not enjoy the throne for a long time as he will be murdered. He will be succeeded by a man the first letter of whose name is *Mīm*. He will be young and generous and will act with a sense of responsibility. His reign will also be short, and he will die a violent death. He will be succeeded by a King the first letter of whose name is *Alif*, and he will be the son of a man the first letter of whose name is *Mīm*. He will show zeal in his religion and ardour in the government of his realm. He will have a reign shorter[5] than that of his predecessor, and he will also die a violent death.

"After his death he will be succeeded by a King[6] the first letter of whose name is *Jīm*. He will set himself the task of governing and reforming his Kingdom with zeal, because he will be a responsible man who will take[1] the business of government to heart. Since he is endowed with such qualities he will be allowed to remain on the throne till he reaches an old age. There will be many wars[2] in his days, and *Egypt* will slip away[3] from his hand, and he will neglect[4] the affairs of *Persia*. He will covet, however, these[5] and other countries, and in his days there will be constant friction between this restless and envious King and his people. Many men from the children of *Ishmael* will be killed under his reign, because they will oppose him, but nevertheless he will have a long reign.

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[1] Or: Damascus. This sentence is badly worded, and my translation of it is uncertain.

[2] I translate this sentence literally as I cannot follow the author's meaning.

[3] *Sic.* codex.

[4] Read *abniatan*.

[5] Read *aḳṣar*.

[6] Read always *malikun*.

"After the said children of *Ishmael* shall have been killed through him, he will die a memorable death and he will be succeeded by a powerful and imperious King who will govern his realm well. He will defeat all those who oppose and resist him. He will entice to him chieftains from the children of *Ishmael* from his fear of their power,[6] and he himself will ravage many countries, and through him many men will perish. As to those who believe in me they will live in happiness, prosperity and security. The majority of his prefects[7] and his government officials will be from them. The people of the land and of the sea will flee from him, and the inhabitants of the earth will submit to him. He will amass wealth such as none[8] of his predecessors was able to amass, and he will truly govern the Kingdom in his generation. His reign will, however, be short and not long. The first letter of his name will be *Alif*, and he will die a natural death peacefully in his bed.

"He will be succeeded by a King the first letter of whose name is '*Ain*. He will be a lover of games and peace, but frequent disturbances will beset him in his days, because the *Khawārij*[1] will multiply in his generation, and a considerable number of men from the progeny of *Ishmael* will perish through them. Among those who will come forth against him will be a powerful man the first letter of whose name is *Alif.* He will shed the blood of many men,[2] and he will prevail against him. Another shedder of blood will come forth against him from the *Khawārij.* He will conquer some towns and murder all their inhabitants. And this man, O Peter, will have the wings of the young eagle (spoken of by) your brother *Daniel,*[3] because he will be a man on whose word and promise no reliance could be placed.

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[1] The MS. has here the negative "will not take" but this appeared to me to contradict the previous statement.

[2] Read *ḥurūbun*. [3] Read *takhruju*.

[4] Probably Add '*an*. All this sentence is badly worded, and my translation of it is not certain.

[5] The author uses here the pronoun *ahl* for *hādhihi* to express "these." As the pronoun *ahl* is mostly used in this sense in North Mesopotamia, the last editor of the work must have lived in that country. *Ahl* itself seems in the last analysis to be derived from the Syriac *hālain* "these."

[6] Read *saṭwatihim*. [7] Read '*ummāl*.

[8] Read *li'aḥadin*.

" He will claim the throne although having no right to it. He will be the man of the first sign which the master of that people had not noticed.[4] And (the King of) that *Khāriji* people will rule in *Phœnicia,* and his end will come at the hand of the young of the large eagle which is in the deserts, in the town of *Kurmah,*[5] because it will at that time conquer *Egypt* and kill the King. At his death the number forty, which we mentioned at the beginning in connection with the kings of that nation, will be completed. Among the happenings under the last of their kings is that his reigning dynasty will come to an end in his days through him.[6]

" At that time (his people) will be deported three times, then (his kingdom) will perish. After its downfall three kings will appear, the first of whom will be from the south, the second from the east, and the third from the west. And the son of the others will remain remembered in the centre of the earth.[1] The said three kings will be from the posterity of the king the first letter of whose name is ' *Ain*.[2] They will fill the rôle which was assigned to them from eternity, and for which they were created.[3]

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[1] This word which literally means " the Revolters " is generally applied to a sect of Muslims who affirm that any man may be promoted to the dignity of a Caliph, and reject salvation by faith only without works. The term is more especially used to designate the 12,000 men who revolted from ‘Ali after the battle of Ṣiffin in A.D. 657. The word in a more general sense indicates any "revolters," "schismatics," or "heretics." See *Tāj al-‘Arūs* (*s.v.*) and *Encyclopædia of Islam*, ii. 906-908.

[2] Read *dimā'i khalḳin.*

[3] See Dan. vii. 4 which seems to fit more the context than Dan. iv. 33, although both verses are rather inadequate to explain the author's references. Perhaps he wishes to refer to the eagle spoken of in the Book of Rev. iv., and elsewhere in the Old Testament.

[4] Probably read *yaṭṭali‘*.

[5] Yāḳūt (*Mu‘jam al-buldān*, iv. 367) mentions a locality near Yamāmah in Arabia of the name of Kurmah.

[6] This sentence is badly worded but its meaning seems to be clear.

" O Peter, when you see that *Egypt* has been devastated and that twelve earthquakes have taken place in your town, know that the lion's whelp and the lion's brother the first letter of whose name is *Alif*,[4] will leave their respective places and repair to the west, which they will conquer. When you see wild beasts sitting at one table, and when you see the star of my Incarnation when I took body from the pure and virgin Mary, rising from the west : know that I am about to send locusts and death against the children of *Ishmael* in the days of the lion's whelp. I will also fill the hearts of other men with fear and fright to such an extent that they will pray for death. They will move from country to country ; the inhabitants of the east will flee to the west, and the inhabitants of the west to the east, and the earth will be seized with great fear.

" At that time I will show my signs in heaven, and raise four kings, one of whom will be the '*ain*, and two others the '*ain*.[5] As to the fourth he will not be of royal blood. Two of them will be killed, and the third will seize power openly. As to the fourth, I will hide him to the time in which I will show to the public the King of those who believe in me.

" O Peter, it is imperative that you should pray and ask earnestly that none of your children shall be deceived[6] concerning the time when the children[7] of *Ishmael* come forth.[8] In that time there will be great famine and extreme hunger, and men will attack one another, because I shall place such enmity amongst them that none of them will have any peace. O Peter, when you see that people of all tongues have assembled in *Jarbā*,[1] and that faith[2] and belief in me are one; when you see the mountains of *Jarbā*, which the inhabitants of Syria call 'the *jauf*,' shaking;[3] wars being waged; the eagle spreading its feathers to all places and to all localities; intense divisions occurring among men; and people fleeing from you, O Peter: let the maiden know that the time of her wailing over those who believe in me is at hand.

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[1] What does all this sentence mean ?

[2] The text adds here " and he will follow it."

[3] The sentence is badly worded, and my translation is not certain.

[4] Delete the *waw* and read *huma*.

[5] I do not understand what the author means by the word '*ain* which among many other meanings that it possesses are " the eye " and " the letter '*ain*." All the sentence is very obscure.

[6] The translation of this verb is doubtful.

[7] Read *banu*.

[8] All this sentence is badly worded.

"Then the priests will be killed and the deacons burned. The river of *Persia* will move vehemently and flood[4] *Jerusalem*. O Peter, the Kingdom[5] of the children of *Ishmael*, is firm, well established and solid. Its affairs are glorious but its glory is earthly. When you see the children of *Ishmael* mixing with the children of *Persia*, and when you see[6] the Jews learning the art of warfare, and a child calling another child of the same age to fight, and the signs the description of which I gave you appearing: know, O Peter, that the end of the Kingdom of *Ishmael* is at hand."[7]

A CHAPTER ON THE "SIGNS," FROM THE (THE BOOK OF THE) SECRETS.

"At the end when people begin to recognise one another, parents their children and children their parents; when *Jarbā*[8] is in ruin and men of different tongues (understand one another);[9] when men from remote countries have assembled together, and heaven[10] has become one: Know, O Peter, that salvation is at hand. When you see the four Kings from the progeny of the *'abūs*[11] wolf—whose appearance

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[1] See my note above, p. 472.

[2] The Arabic *majd* in the sense of "faith" is a literal translation of the Syriac *Shubḥa*.

[3] Read *tahtazz*. See my note on a similar sentence below, p. 494.

[4] The translation of this verb is doubtful.

[5] The author uses here the objective pronoun before the noun to which it belongs. This is done only in Syriac and not in Arabic.

[6] Read *ra'aita*.

[7] Here the copyist adds in Syriac: "O brother-readers pray for the wretched copyist who wrote."

[8] About this word see my note above.

[9] A verb with this or similar sense had been omitted, and I supplied it.

[10] The author, curiously enough, uses here the Persian word *āsmān*.

[11] Here the word *'abūs* seems to be used as an adjective, and to mean "stern, austere" and by extension "tyrannical," and not as a substantive in the sense of "lion."

I had postponed till the end of time and until the wild ass was set free—making their appearance[1] and inducing those who believe in me not to be steadfast in praying and fasting and not to repent nor to climb the mountains of salvation: know that wars will increase during a short week and a half and then salvation will come.

"At[2] that time many of my people will deny me on account of the tribulations that will befall them. It will be a time of trial[3] and of the separation of tares from the wheat. Woe to those who deny me, and blessed are those who endure tribulations for my sake. At that time a considerable number of just men will join the ranks of the sinners. He who flies like an eagle and flees shall be saved. There will be frequent earthquakes, awful terrors, locusts, diseases and grievous death. Woe unto them that are with child and to them that give suck.[4] People will be delivered to tribulations the like of which had not been seen before, and the believers will undergo severe trials such as had not been witnessed since the beginning of the world, and will not be witnessed till the appearance of the false preacher.[5]

"Know, O Peter, that I will cast terror into the heart of the children of the *'Abūs*, will make them hear a terrifying sound in the heavens, which will overwhelm them, and will send on them a fearful tremor which will rob them of strength.

"O Peter, after you I will grant my peace to the Apostle[6] Paul,[7] the elect, because you and he will fight for my people in the forefront of the battle, and through you there will be victory for those who believe in me. When you appear all the earth will rejoice and those who believe in me will joy after their tribulations, and their hearts will gladden and enjoy peace. I will make salvation manifest to them, and will show openly my glory[8] and my majesty to men.

"O Peter, when you see signs of wars appearing in heaven from the west to the east, and quickly spreading over the countries of the earth; the sun losing its light and becoming dark; gloom taking hold of the world; a father hating his son and a brother his brother;

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[1] Possibly reads *zaharū* in plural.

[2] Add the particle *fi*.

[3] The Syriac *buḥrāna*.

[4] Matt. xxiv. 19.

[5] Possibly the Antichrist.

[6] The Syriac *shlīḥa*.

[7] It is the first time that the name of Paul appears in this eminently Petrine document.

[8] The Syriac *shubḥa*.

a son hating his father, and mothers hating their children and children their mothers, and a daughter-in-law her mother-in-law and a mother-in-law her daughter-in-law; when you see the children of *Ishmael* driving away those who believe in me and refusing to acknowledge their submission[1] to them: at that time there will be a severe famine, and the rains will be scarce and will fall out of season. I will change the dew that falls on the earth into a deadly poison, and will stop the olive trees from bearing fruits.

"When I have sent blighting winds on the olive trees and fig trees, know that at that time men will die of hunger and thirst, with the exception of my people whom I love and whom I will save. O Peter, blessed is he who flies, blessed is he who saves himself by leaving (the country), blessed is he who with a leap crosses the ford. O Peter, woe to the dwellers in the land of *Syria*, but blessed are those who live in the expectation of the calamities that will befall them and exercise patience in the face of trials, because they will live in the life of the world to come.

"O Peter, keep all that I have revealed to you, inscribe it on the pages of your heart and guard it in your chest. O Peter, know that it is on you that I will build my church, and it shall not cease and perish and the gates of hell shall not be able to demolish it and destroy it.[2] It will have no end with me because it is in the palm of my hand, and I will be with it for ever and ever.

"When the King that is called 'the lion's whelp' rises—the King who will be the son of the King who bears the two names[3] of the nephew of the lion—and when the dead man reappears, who was dethroned and who like his father bore two names the first beginning with (the letter) *Kāf* and the other with (the letter) *Alif*; and when *Tibarus* who is by origin of the west appears, peace will reign, because that time will mark the beginning of salvation. O Peter, when earthquakes become violent (on the day of) the month in which I was born in the flesh—and it is the twenty-fifth day of December—and also on the day in which I was crucified—and it is the night of Friday of the middle of the known month—know that this will be the second sign which will follow the first sign that will be signalled by the destruction of my churches. The latter sign will indeed take place before the great and violent earthquakes and the severe famine.

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[1] *Sic* codex.

[2] *Cf.* Matt. xvi. 18.

[3] Read *bi'ismai.*

"O Peter, when you see divisions between the children of *Ishmael* bringing to the top the strongest among them,[1] and when you see the eagle waxing insolent, know that the time is near. O Peter, when you see heaven pouring forth fine ashes on men; the rivers drying up so that no water is left in them, and no trees are found in the mountains; when you see arts and crafts ceasing, trade brought to a standstill, and minds of men in a confused state with regard to them;[2] when you see deceit increasing among men and falsehood laying strong roots in them so that every one strives to deceive his neighbour; when you see trade being undertaken for the sole purpose of eating and drinking, and every man seeking prosperity for his own self to the exclusion of others; when you see jealousy rife among men, so that no one is found to keep his neighbour's secret, and fear entering the hearts of all men; when you see people of lies, deceit and false witness increasing and people of truth decreasing; when you see that fame is being built up on lies and falsehood, that the people of doubtful character[3] are rejoicing, that the children of vipers are merry-making with their equals, that my people are ill-treated, denounced, thrown out of the way and impeded from washing themselves with water on account of the filth that men will attribute to it,[4] and that slanderous words are heaped on them; when you see believers in me calling themselves by names given to the children of the '*Abūs* to the exclusion of the names of my baptism: when you see all this, awaken your flock to repentance, O Peter.

"O Peter, woe to the believers in me who give to themselves names used by the children of the '*Abūs*. Woe to those who intermarry with them, and have intercourse with them and wear the same apparel[5] like them. If those who believe in me neglect my churches and do not visit them, and lose sight of their priests and do not fulfil their obligations[1] towards them, woe will betide those of them who act in this way. Know that any one who in those days offers to my churches one single penny, he will receive in reward myriads of pennies. Blessed are those who repent of their sins, because I will open to them the doors of my mercy.

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[1] This sentence is badly worded and its meaning is doubtful.

[2] Read *mínha*.

[3] Lit. "people of doubt."

[4] The reference seems to be here to the waters of baptism.

[5] Read *shi'ār* for *si'ār*. This proves decisively that the original from which the present MS. is derived was written in undotted Arabic characters, because it is in Arabic only that the letters *Sīn* and *Shīn* are graphically identical and distinguishable only by extraneous dots.

"O Peter, when the children of *Ishmael* begin on a large scale to seize upon the possessions of those who believe in me, and to enslave their wives, sons,[2] and daughters, know that the salvation of the believers is at hand. O Peter, know that wars will multiply among the children of *Ishmael* together with murder and hatred, because every one of them will seek power for himself.

"O Peter, when the new city of *Babylon* is ruined and its inhabitants live in the old city, and the source of the *Tigris* is divided among the dwellers in the proud city;[3] and when *Wāḳid*,[4] the meaning of whose name is 'burning,'[5] and who is the son of one the first letter of whose name is *Fā'* and of the one the first letter of whose name is *'Ain*, makes his appearance, know that the King of that period will be the last of the descendants of *Kedar* who are haters (of my people) and the progeny of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*. O Peter, when you see the large cities of the sea-shore being demolished and ruined know that famine will overtake my people. O *Egypt*, fall ye in ruins because of the wrath that will come down on you and on the buildings which *Yanshur*, *Jambres*, and *Hermes* have erected in you, but know that after your weeping has reached its height your civilisation[6] will flourish with redoubled vigour, and your joy and jubilation will increase.

"O Peter, know that the children of *Kedar* will believe that victory will be from their own effort, and when I will deliver my people into their hands, they will humiliate them, ruin them, and say to them: 'the Son of your God[7] is the son of a bondmaid,' and 'let the Nazarene slave who was crucified come and deliver you from our hands.' They will not know that my hand is over everything. I will, however, order *Michael* the head of the heavenly hosts to utter one cry, and they will cower, and fear and awe will fill the hearts of all of them. They will be bewildered, and I will confuse the news that reaches them, and they will rejoice at any intelligence that comes to them. I will deliver them [1] to the demons to be directed by them, as I delivered *Saul* to the demons and they became his mentors.

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[1] Read *yata'āhadūhum*.

[2] Read *banīhim*.

[3] The text adds here: "which does not say at that time," a sentence which is to me problematical.

[4] The word is the present participle of the verb *waḳada*, and is a fairly common Arabic name.

[5] So I translate *mughīr* of the text. It may be rendered differently according to the meaning we give to the verb *ghāra*.

[6] Or: the buildings in you.

[7] Read *ilāhikum*.

At that time the demons will take the forms of men, a fact which will be proclaimed by their sons and daughters,[2] and men will not be in doubt that the demons are true men. At that time the people of *Persia* and its mountains will come [3] to the holy land in which they will dwell, and they will inhabit my holy temples, which will be ruined. They will ally themselves with the children of *Kedar* and they will intermarry with them. The people of *Persia* will command the soldiers and direct the battles of the children of *Kedar*, and they will teach the art of warfare to those of them who do not know it ; but I will destroy all of them with the sword.

"O Peter, inform those who believe in me that if they are told that peace cometh from this or that place let them not take heed, and let them not accompany those who utter such things to them, because everything they will tell them [4] will be groundless and false ; indeed I will not sow peace and reconciliation between them and I will not bless their lands with riches from that time for ever. All of them will seek power, and I will place in their hearts the love [5] of gold and silver, so that they shall have no other care but that of amassing wealth and of clinging to women. A father will marry a woman, and his son her daughter ; a man will marry two sisters, and men will marry men as if they were women. Males will debase themselves with males and females with females, and they will own one another.[6] The young among them will not honour the old, and none of them will be ashamed of another. All [7] will be wicked, and will believe themselves to be pure [8] but with me they will be defiled. You will recall my saying that no[1] one will be able to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven unless he be baptised in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost the pure,[2] and my names which I have hidden from the rest of mankind with the exception of your lambs are *Ahīyah, Asharahīyah, Adonai, Ilshadai, Sabaoth.*[3]

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[1] Read *wa-'usallimuhum.*

[2] The meaning of this sentence is doubtful.

[3] Read *yasīr.*

[4] Read *yad'ūnahum.*

[5] Delete the article.

[6] As concubines ?

[7] Read *al-jamī'.*

[8] Read *anḳiā'.*

"Know, O Peter, that it is to you and to the rest of the disciples and to those who follow you that I have prepared the Kingdom of Heaven. Know, O Peter, that of the descendants of *Kedar* many people will believe in me, and will join your fold. They will be pure and they will fulfil your orders. The names of all of them are inscribed with me in the Church of the Virgins,[4] which is in *Jerusalem* and in my town which I behold at every moment.

"O Peter, woe will betide those who are not baptised and do not believe in me, because they will inherit the uttermost darkness and the flaming fire which is not quenched and to which there is no dissolution and no end. Woe to those who will mix with them, as they will err with the *Magians* and with such as these will their lot be in hell.

"O Peter, when the men with the yellow standards have conquered *Egypt;* when *Armenia* is destroyed by thunderbolts; when *Jazīrah*[5] is in ruin together with many fortresses on the littoral of the sea; when *Egypt* is depopulated and encircled[6] and the (water of the) Nile is held up; and the sovereignty has passed into the hands of the people of the yellow standards; and the land[7] has become yellow and in a state of ruin through the hoofs of horses, and the wheat has been hoarded for the years[8] (to come); when you see peace established between warring generals;[9] when you see the King bringing out the young man who is a scion of the mighty Kings of the Children of *Ishmael*, and when (this young man) believes in me and becomes one of my lambs and enters my fold[1] and goes to my holy city[2]—he is one of the descendants of *Ishmael*, and it is he who will induce the lion's whelp to cause the two Kings to appear on the earth; when all this takes place, woe unto them that are with child and to them that give suck,[3] because their husbands[4] will die and they will be widows.

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[1] Add *lā*.

[2] The author uses the word "Holy Ghost" in feminine as it is done in early Syriac literature. This seems to postulate a relatively ancient layer for the original source of the author in connection with the point under consideration.

[3] Well-known Hebrew words. See the first part of the *Apocalypse of Peter* in fasc. 6, p. 235.

[4] *Cf.* The Book of Rev. xiv. 14.

[5] North Mesopotamia.

[6] Doubtful translation.

[7] Lit.: desert.

[8] Read *sinīn*. This also proves that the original from which the present MS. is derived was in undotted Arabic characters, because it is in Arabic only that the letters *nūn* and *tā'* are graphically identical.

[9] So I translate *tawāḳīd*, for which I cannot find a more suitable meaning. My translation is, however, doubtful.

" And when you see that armies do not stop in one locality, but move from town to town and from place to place ; that their chieftains do not see eye to eye with one another, that their leaders[5] are traitors and their love (for one another) is turned into hatred : know that woe has fallen on the world. O Peter, keep that which I told you, and let it be to you like the message of the Gospel, and know that all these signs will take place in a short week and a half.

"O Peter, when men flee from women because of the intensity of famine and tribulations ; when plains suffer from drought[6] and the ears of wheat do not display their natural beauty ;[7] when gloom and weeping increase among men ; when the rod that is set up in my Temple is broken, and the inhabitants of your city rise against my people till they are overwhelmed by many afflictions ; when my churches are ruined and ravaged by the calamities that will befall them ; and light and glory are removed from them ; when peace is restored between warring generals[8] for a week, which means a long period for the children of baptism ; when the children of baptism are saved from the children of the wolf by stratagem ; and when the children of baptism take possession of the fort and overcome the enmity of the wolf ; when all this happens, woe and again woe to those with encumbrances who live till that time, but blessed are those who have no encumbrances and who have no brothers nor sisters. Blessed will be those who are single.

---

[1] The original *ṣuyūti* is incomprehensible without emendations.

[2] Lit. : city of my holiness.

[3] Matt. xiv. 19.

[4] Read *rijālahunna.*

[5] Read *wakādatahum.*

[6] Read *ajdabat.* This proves that the original MS. was in undotted Arabic characters, because it is only in Arabic that the letters *jīm* and *ḥā'*, *bā'*, and *tā'* are graphically identical.

[7] I read *ruwāha* for *dawāha.* The translation is, however, doubtful.

[8] Here also is the above word *tawāḳīd.*

"O Peter, warn your people against the Jews, and know that the King of the children of the *'Abūs* will be executed in the fulness of time,[1] and in this fulness the nation with easy life will perish from the earth together with the children of the wolf. Many sheep will become wolves. O Peter, warn your people not to take refuge from anything under the mantle of Moses.[2] Know that at the end of time I will place between the eyes of the children of baptism a sign resembling a bright star which will protect them from destruction.[3]

"O Peter, the King of the children of the *'Abūs* will perish when forty Kings from them have reigned, as I told you, and the name of the man at whose hand their Kingdom will come to an end will begin with a *Mīm*, and their discomfiture will take place in his days. Know, O Peter, that all of them will not perish but a considerable number of them will remain till the end of the world, and their sins will multiply seven fold.

"O Peter, the first sign will be the ruin of *Egypt*, scarcity of food and famine on the coast, the destruction of *Jarba*[4] which the inhabitants of the east and of Syria call the *jauf*[5] and the coming of the winds and of the highest mountain.[6] When this happens divisions will occur between the children of the wolf through their malice and treachery. When you see fear and trepidation penetrating into the heart of the children of the wolf, causing them to lose control of affairs through the calamities that will befall them, know that after their divisions they will meet with famine and destruction.

"When confusion reigns in the honourable[7] place, and when the light of the stars becomes dim,[8] and peace is secured between the two new Kings, the victorious will become the vanquished. When the nobles of *Syria* are captured; when the learned men have fled and the wise men have perished ; when those who believe in me are in a state of subjection, are called unbelievers and are hated and despised ; and when the love of the children of the wolf turns towards the Jews and not towards my people : know that it is the time of the beginning (of the end). O Peter, when this happens fly like a pigeon, soar in the air like an eagle and hide yourself like the setting sun. O Peter, woe to the man who neglects my words.

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[1] Lit.: "of the sea," but this is possibly a mistake for *ayyām* "of the days."

[2] This translation is not certain.

[3] Lit.: fight.

[4] See above.

[5] Read *jauf* for *khauf*. This emendation is from Mingana Syr. 441 (fol. 76a). This also proves that the original from which the present MS. is derived was in undotted Arabic characters, because it is in Arabic only that the letters *Jīm* and *Khā'* are written in the same way and distinguished only by an extraneous dot placed over or under the letter.

[6] Which mountain? If we read *taur* for *ṭūr* we can obtain many other meanings.

[7] Read *al-musharraf*. Which honourable place?

[8] The translation is not certain.

"O Peter, when you see these signs, know that the great city of the interior will be conquered, and one year after its conquest, the new city will be conquered, and after it the city concerning which lies were uttered, and then the city of *Alexandria*. And it will be turned upside down[1] together with *Ḥarmānīyah* and the river that flows from Paradise to *Phœnicia*. And the region of *Baalbeck* together with *Lāyos* and *Ḳūsīn*[2] and the town of idols and the two holy houses that are in the east and in *Mesopotamia*, will be conquered.

"Know, O Peter, that at that time woe will betide those who will be inhabiting your city, because they will be killed ; and blessed will be those who shall flee from it, because tribulations will befall it as never before, and the believers in me who are in it will be exposed to public scorn ; when it is conquered with the sword those of them who will have fled to the three mountains that surround it shall be saved.

"When this happens the inhabitants of *Armenia*, of *Ḥaurān*[3] and of *Persia* will resent it[4] and will help my people, and all those who disbelieve in me will turn to me. Then the towns of *Ablabūn*[5] and *Beirut* will rejoice[6] but woe to the (towns of the) coast because of the calamities that will befall them at the hand of the lion's whelp, whose roaring will be heard on land and sea. Woe to *Laodicea* because of the calamities that will befall it. The believers will be killed in *Mount Sinai*, and *Moab*,[7] *Amman* and *Damascus* which is the city of perdition, will be in ruins."

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[1] Doubtful translation. Lit.: "and it will be reversed against being turned over."

[2] Yākūt (*Mu'jam al-Buldān*, ɪv, 100), mentions a locality called *Ḳussīn* near Kūfah, but this can hardly be identified with this *Ḳūsīn*.

[3] Mingana Syr. 441 (fol. 76b) has *Jaradān*.

[4] Read *nafarū* as in Mingana Syr. 441 (fol. 76b).

[5] Mingana Syr. 441 (fol. 76b) has *Īlūn*.

[6] The verb *faraḥat* is supplied from Mingana Syr. 441 (*ibid.*).

[7] M. 441 (*ibid.*) has '*Āmūr*.

A CHAPTER ON THE SALVATION OF THE BELIEVERS AT THE HAND OF THE HONOURABLE KING, THE LION'S WHELP, IN THE DAY[1] OF THE LORD.

"Know, O Peter, that the lion's whelp will come out of his place and repair to the holy city. He will fix his spear in the place of the Crucifixion, and he will remain there one day. He will open the gates of Jerusalem on a Friday, and then he will enter therein, and the time[2] at which he will enter will be three o'clock on a Saturday. And on a Sunday, third of April, he will enter the Church and fix in it the wood (of the Cross) of Golgotha where the Jews crucified me, and will lay his diadem on that wood. That day is the day of the Lord, and all the nations will rejoice and dance, and the Kings of the earth will assemble there, will be in great astonishment and will jubilate and clap their hands; and all the nations will know one another. On that day heaven and earth will rejoice, and the voices of angels will be heard in them,[3] singing and praising, and their glorifications will be mingled with the glorifications of those who believe in me."

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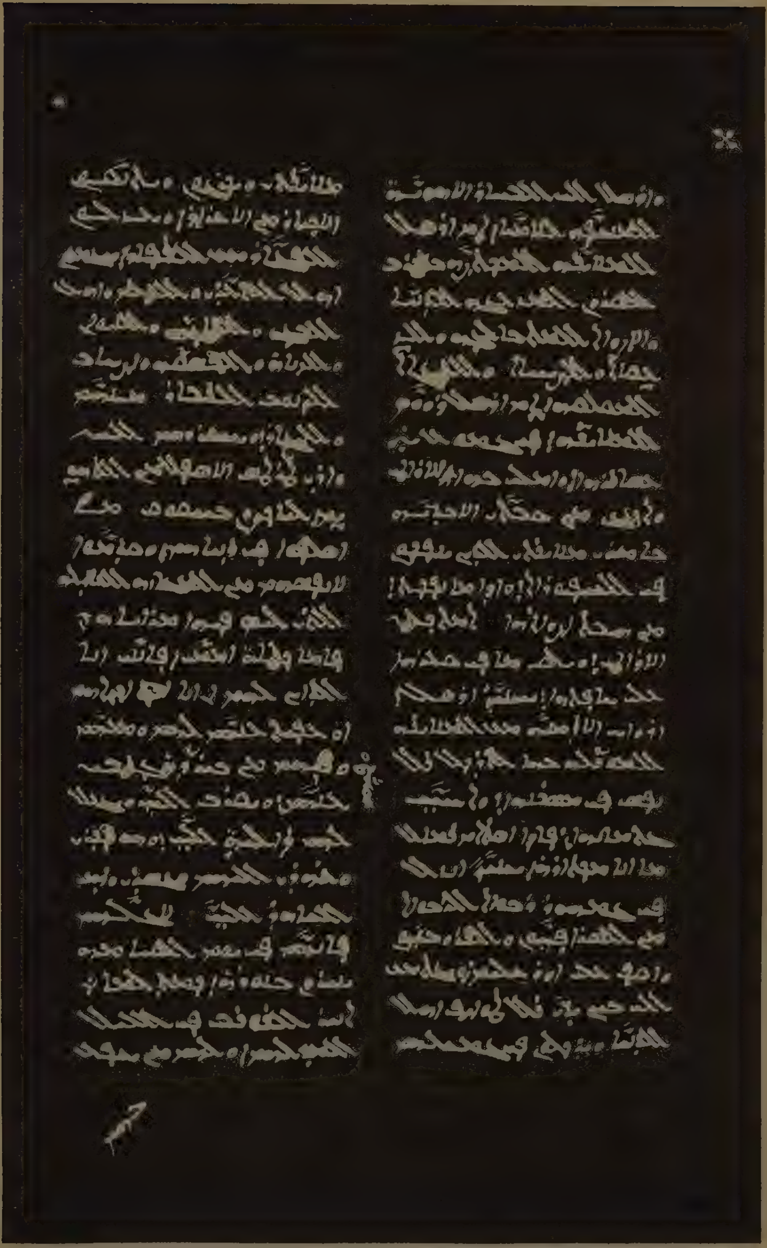
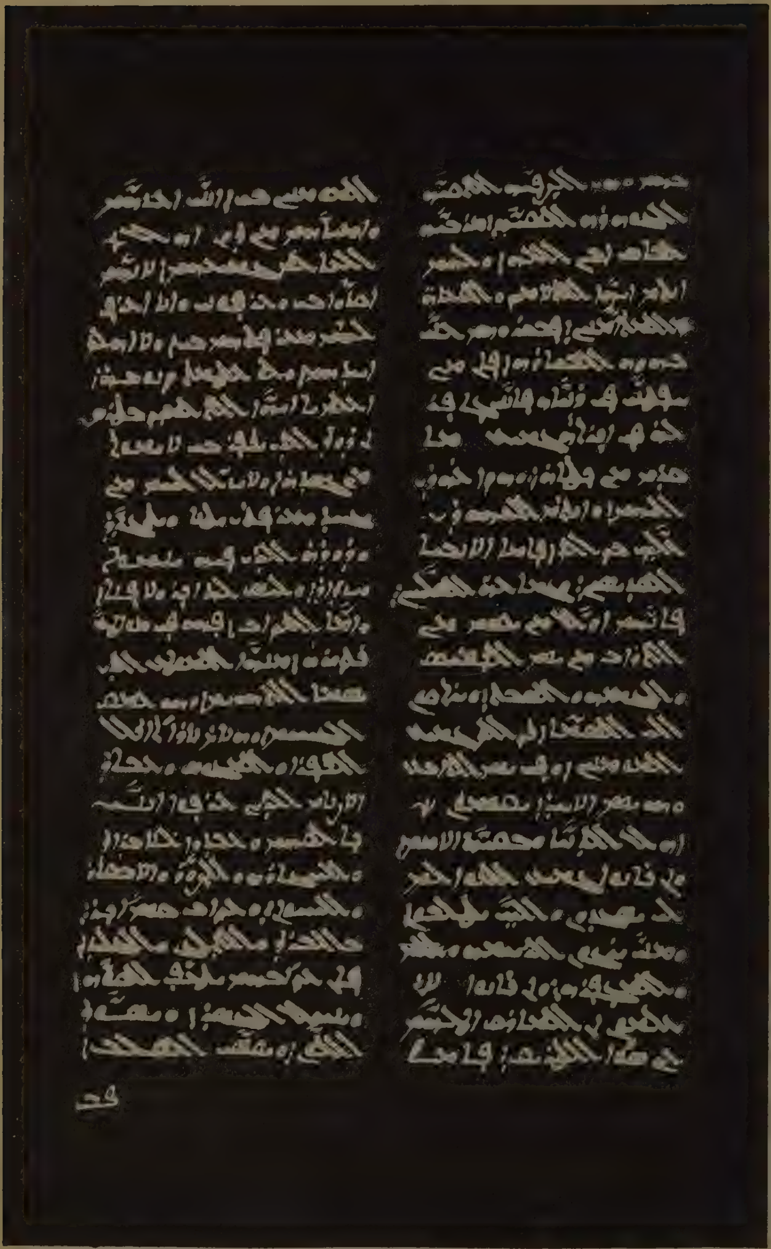
[1] Delete the article.

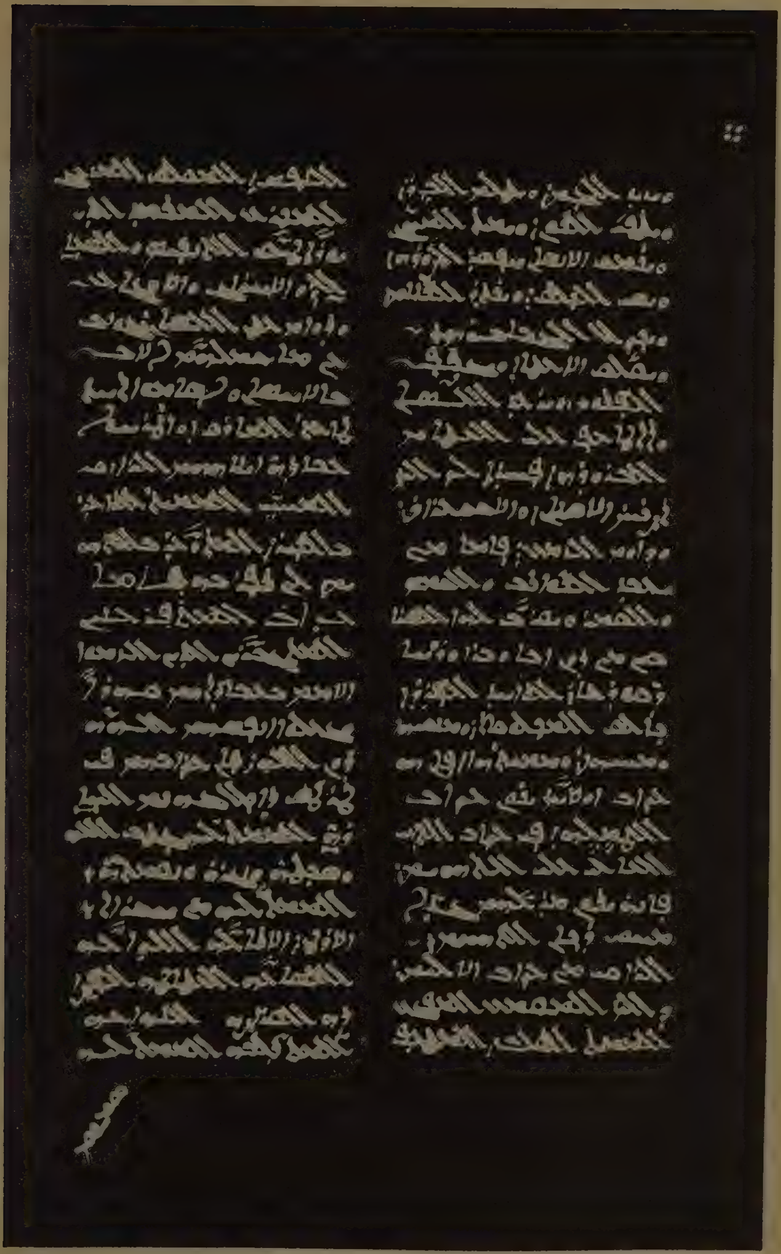
[2] Lit.: "day."

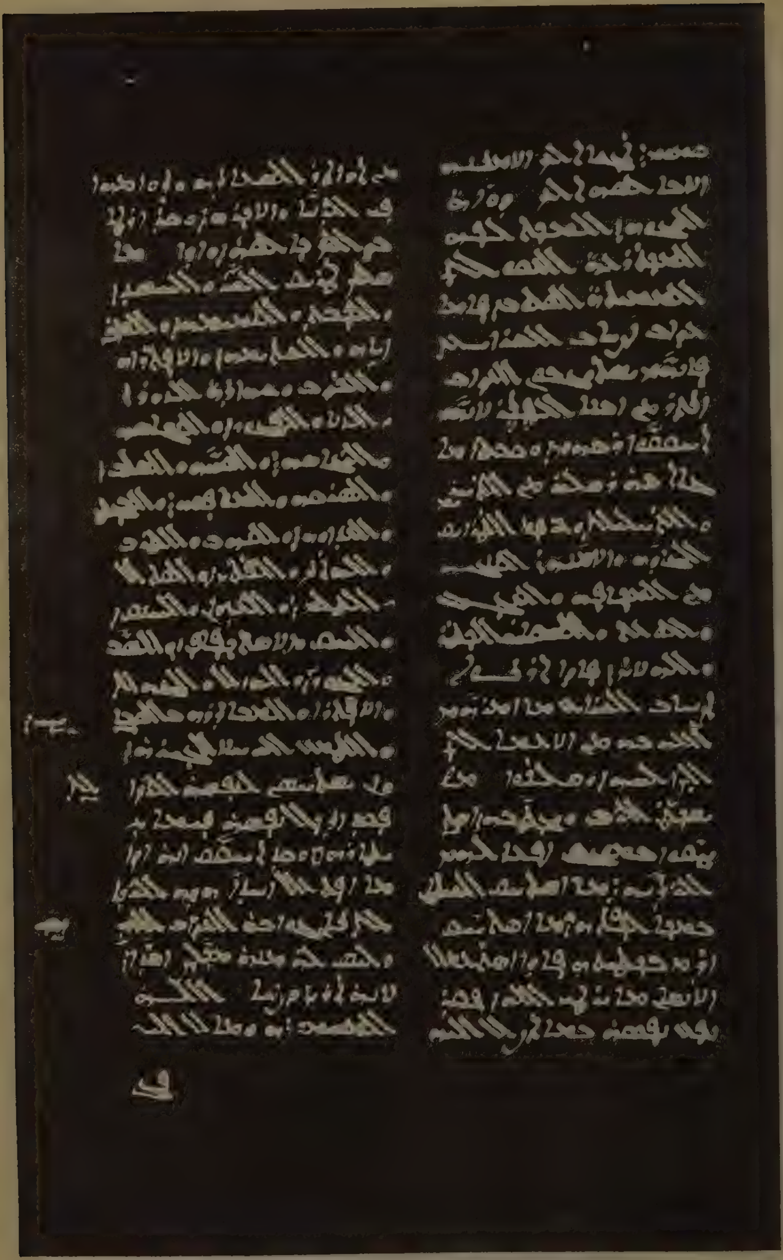
[3] Read *fiha.*

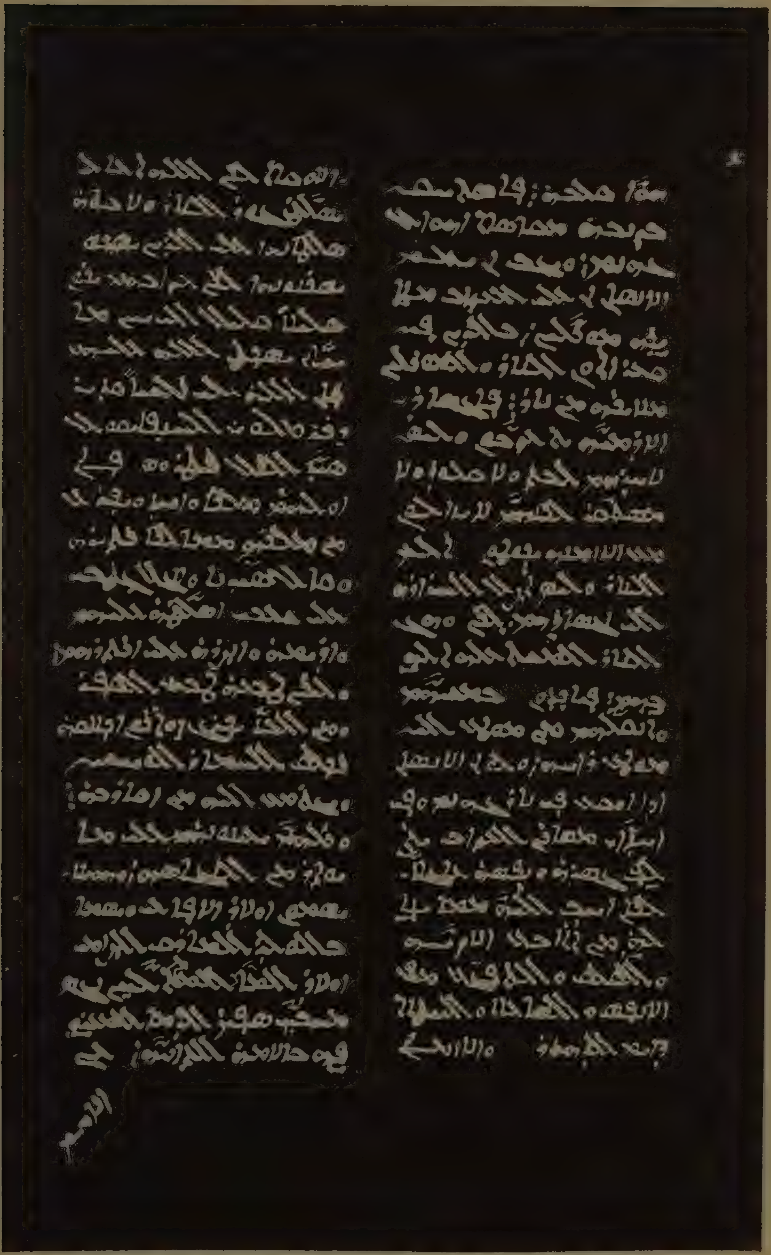
(*To be concluded.*)

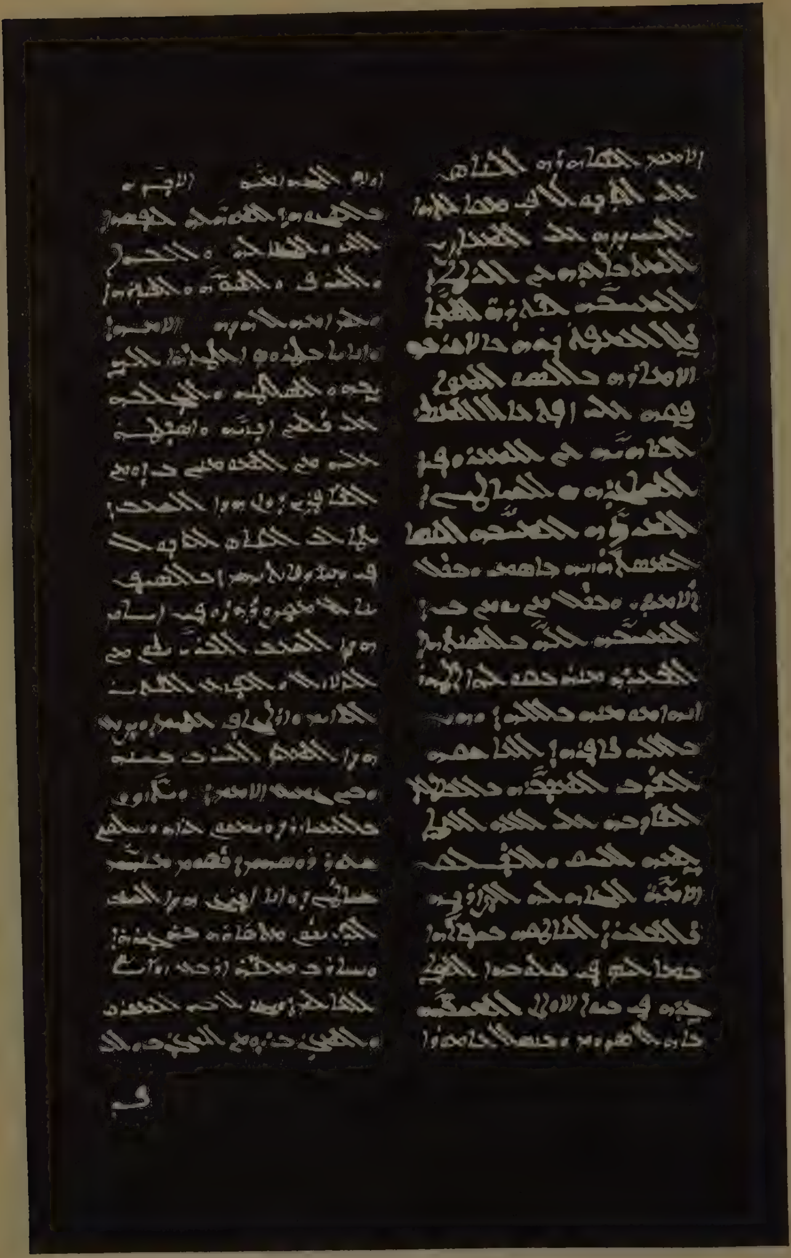


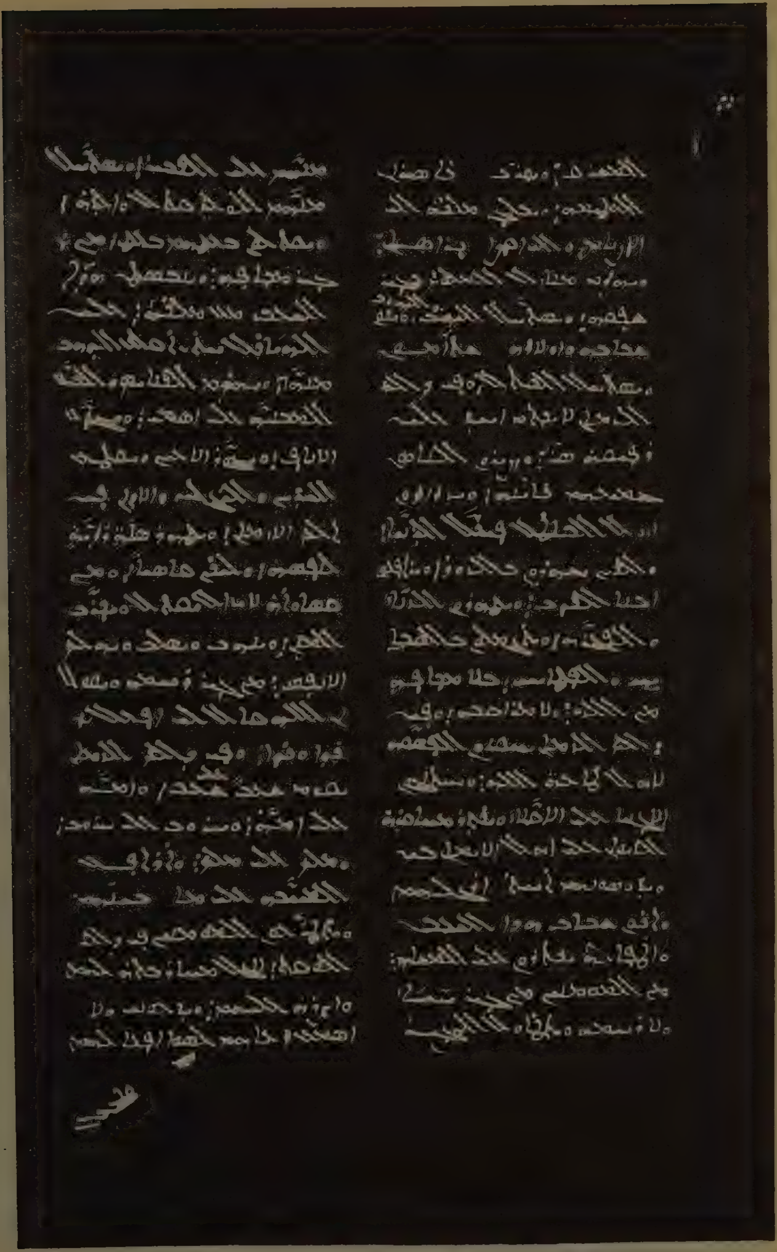


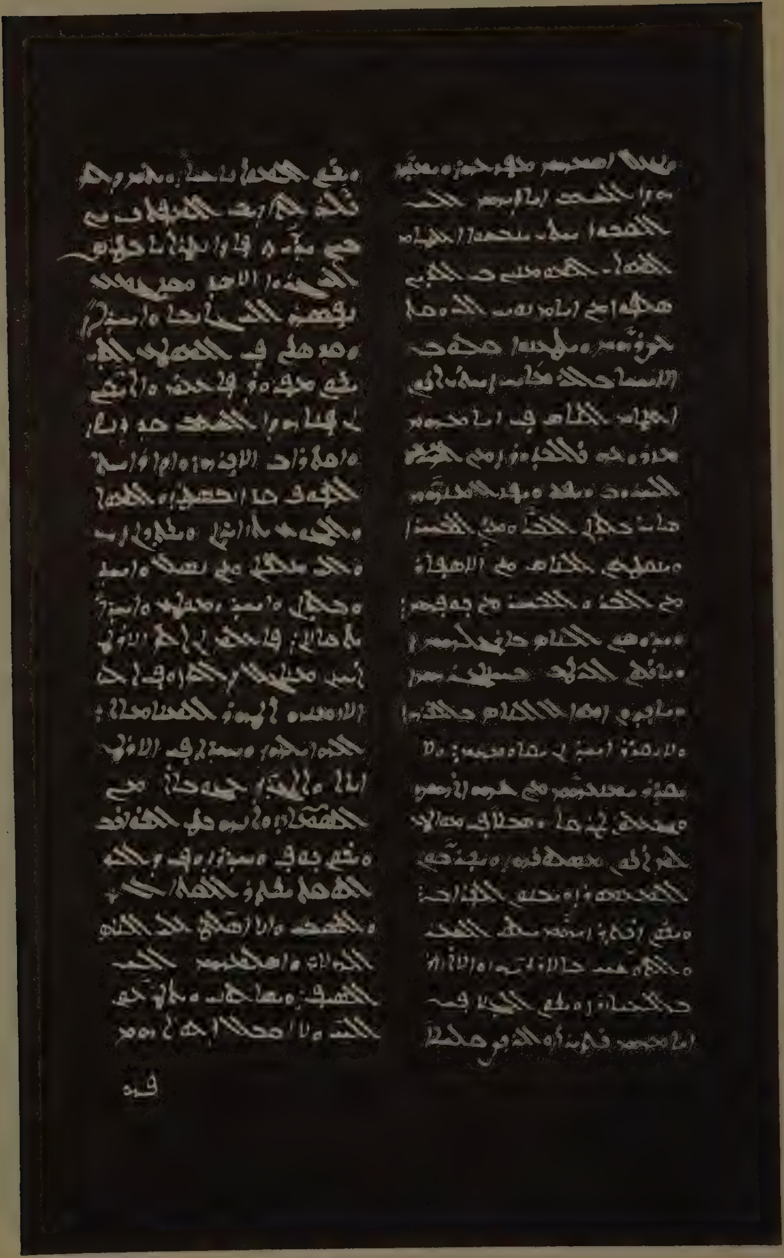


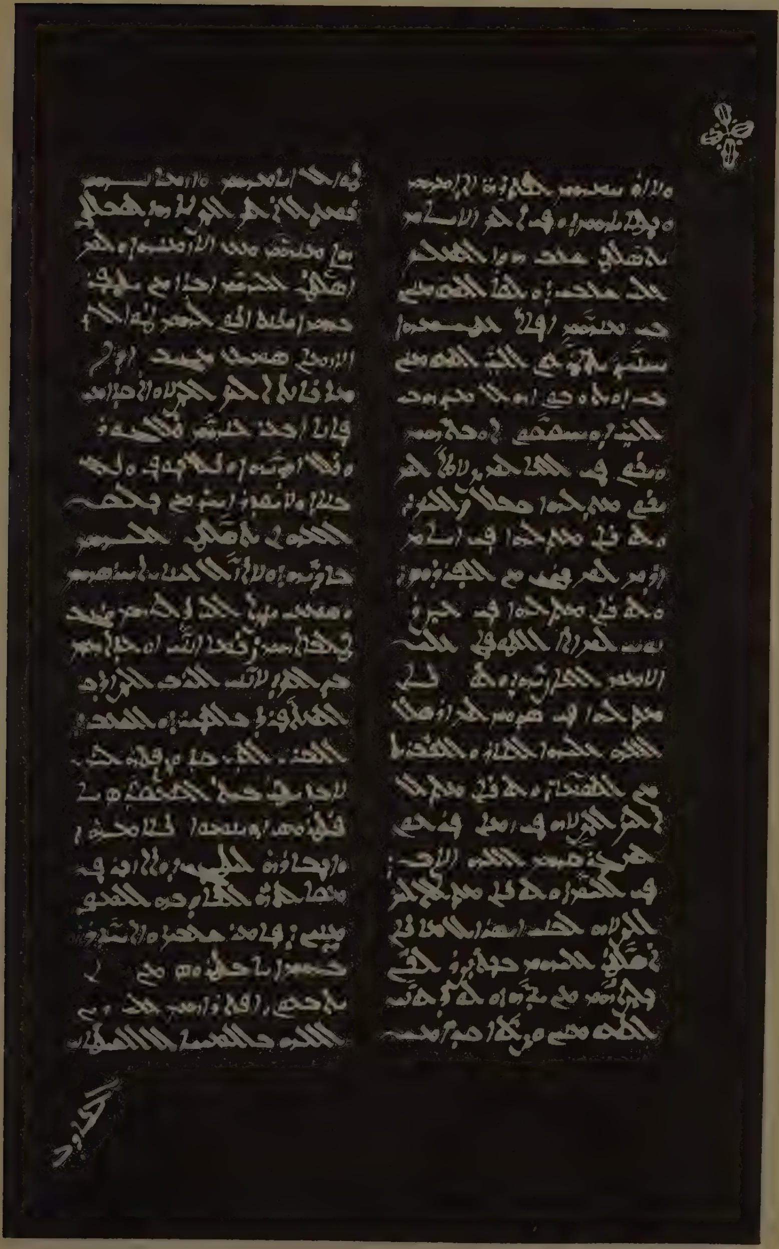


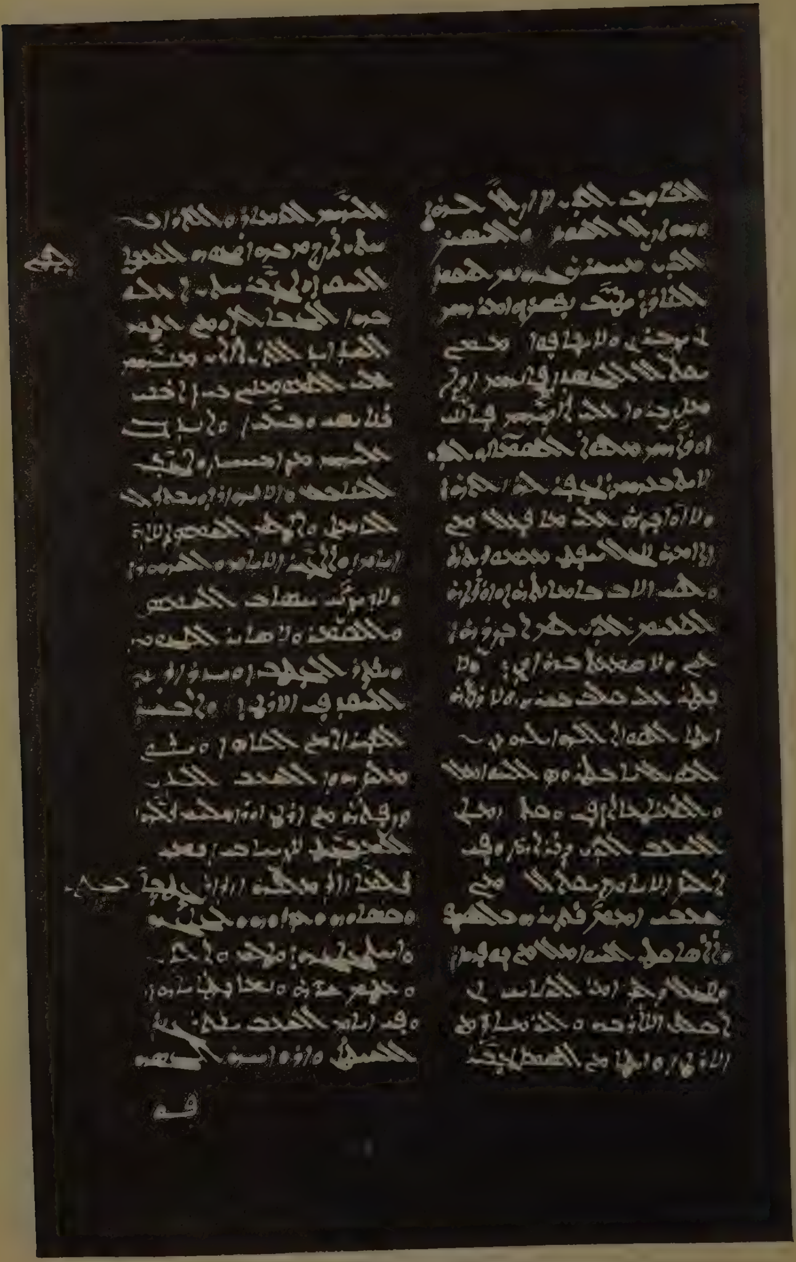


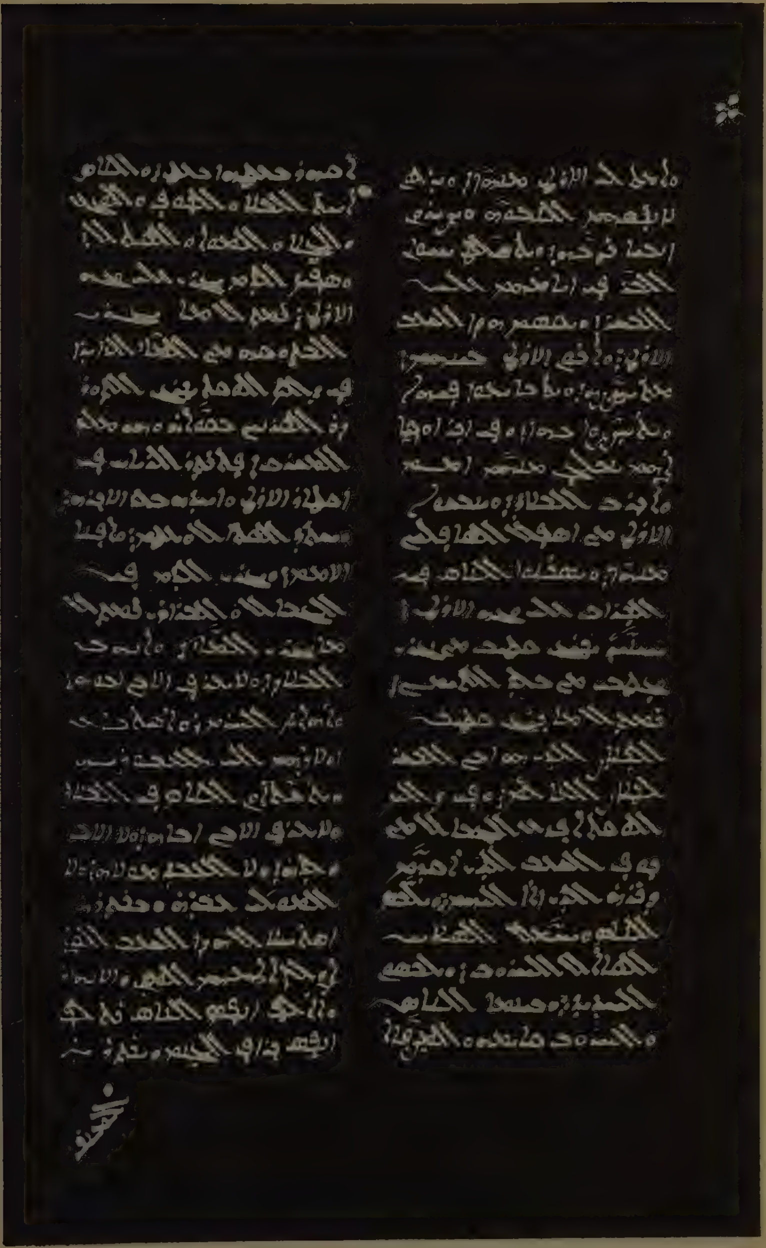


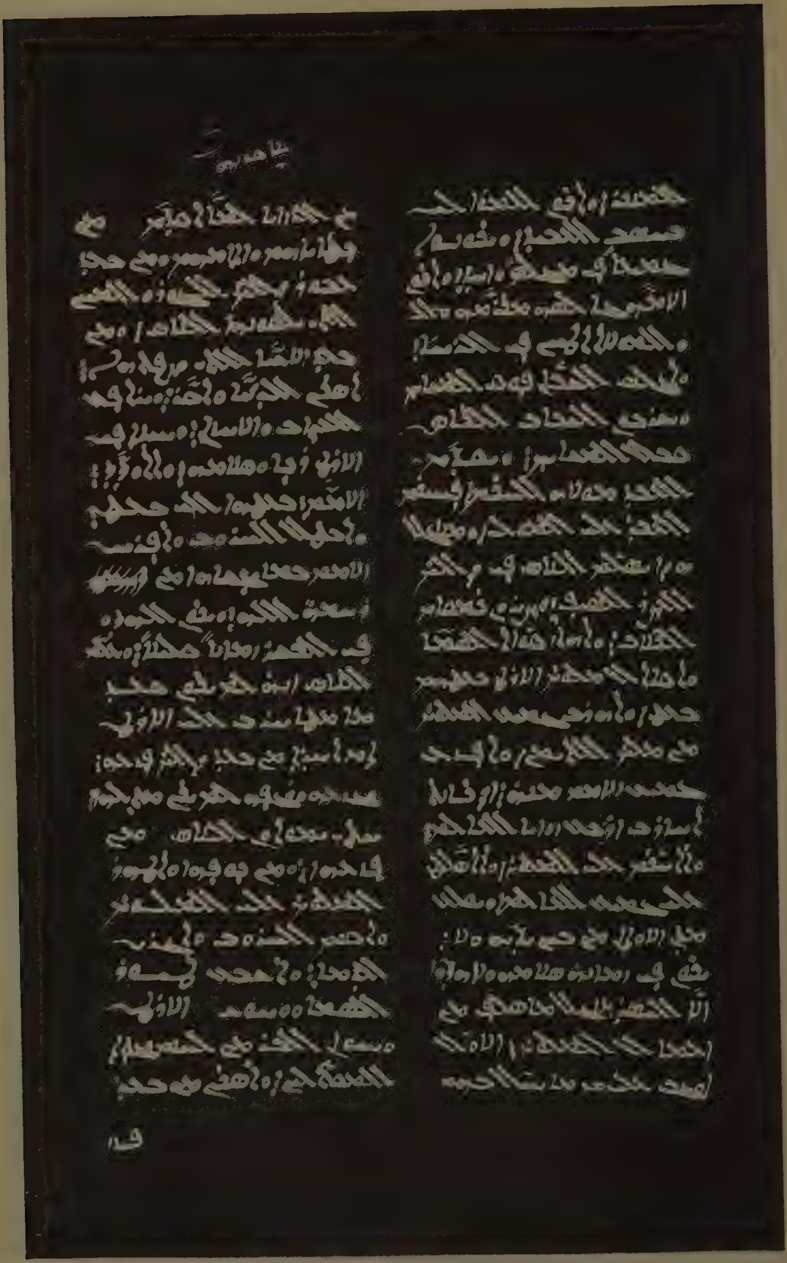


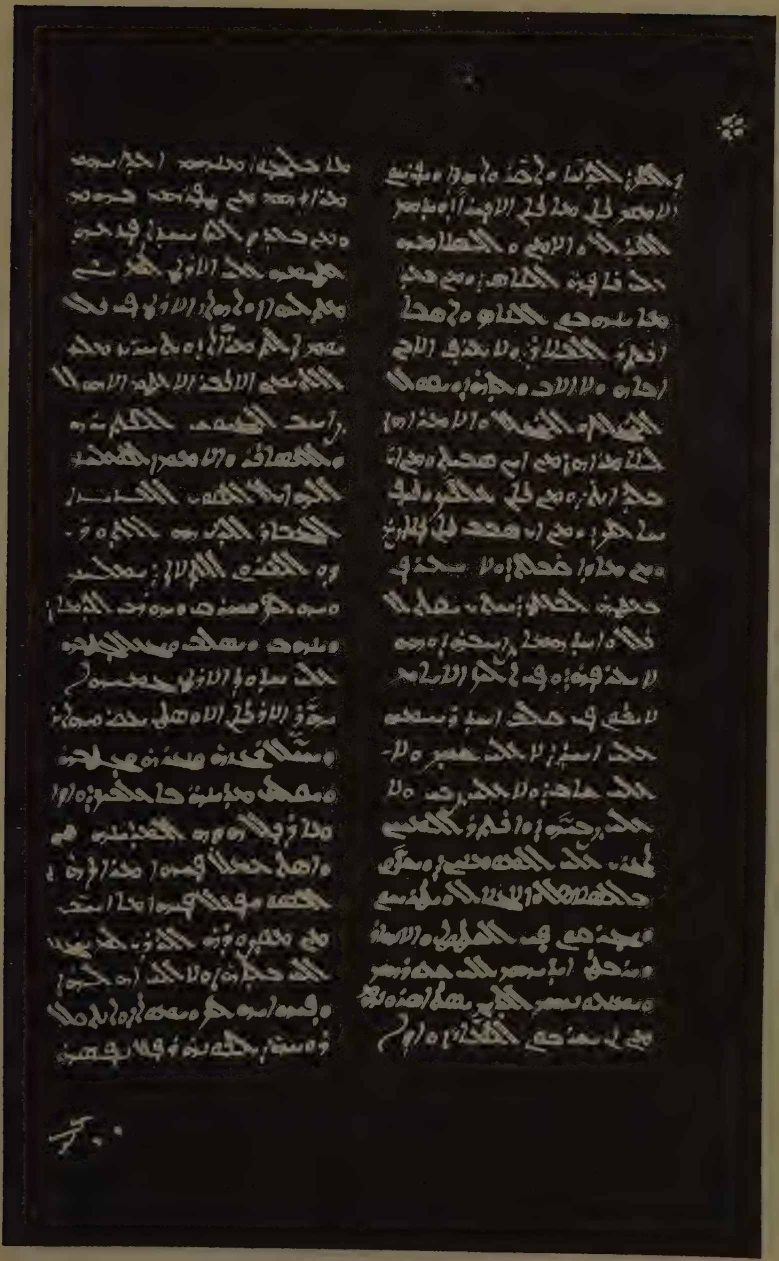


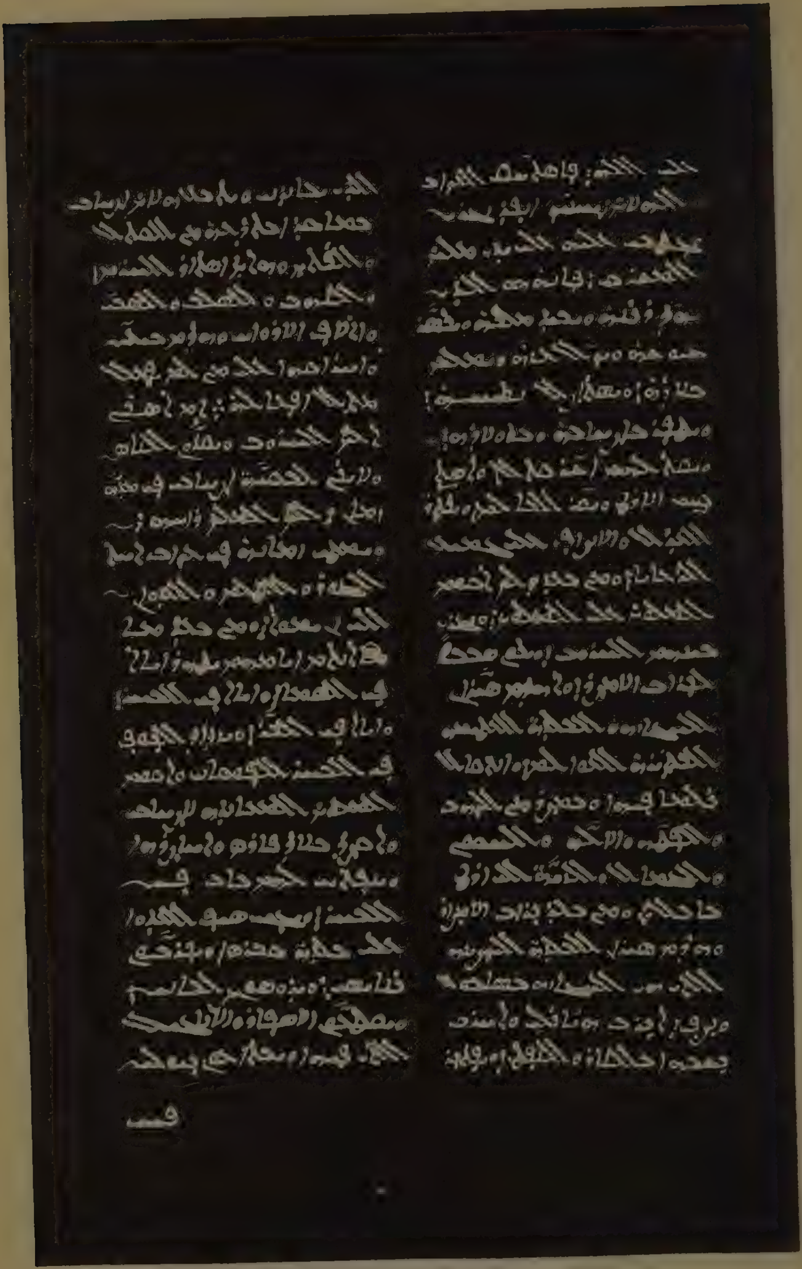


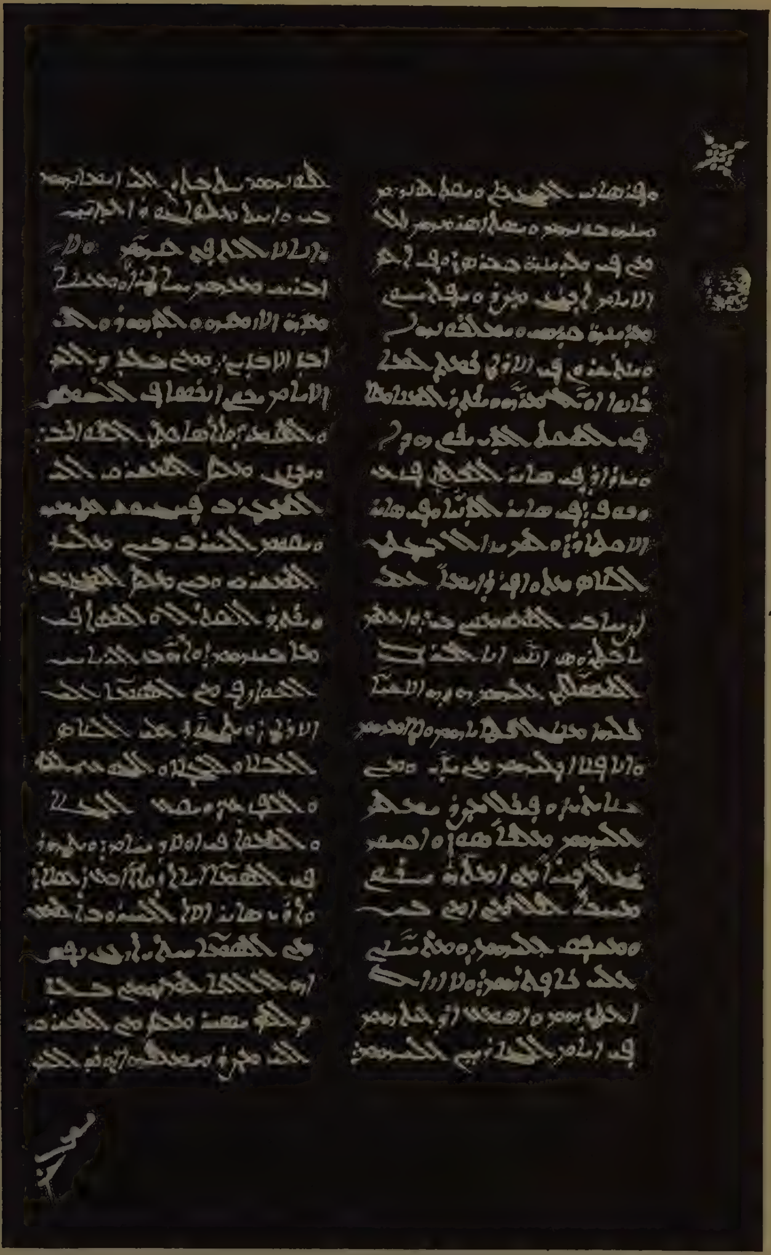


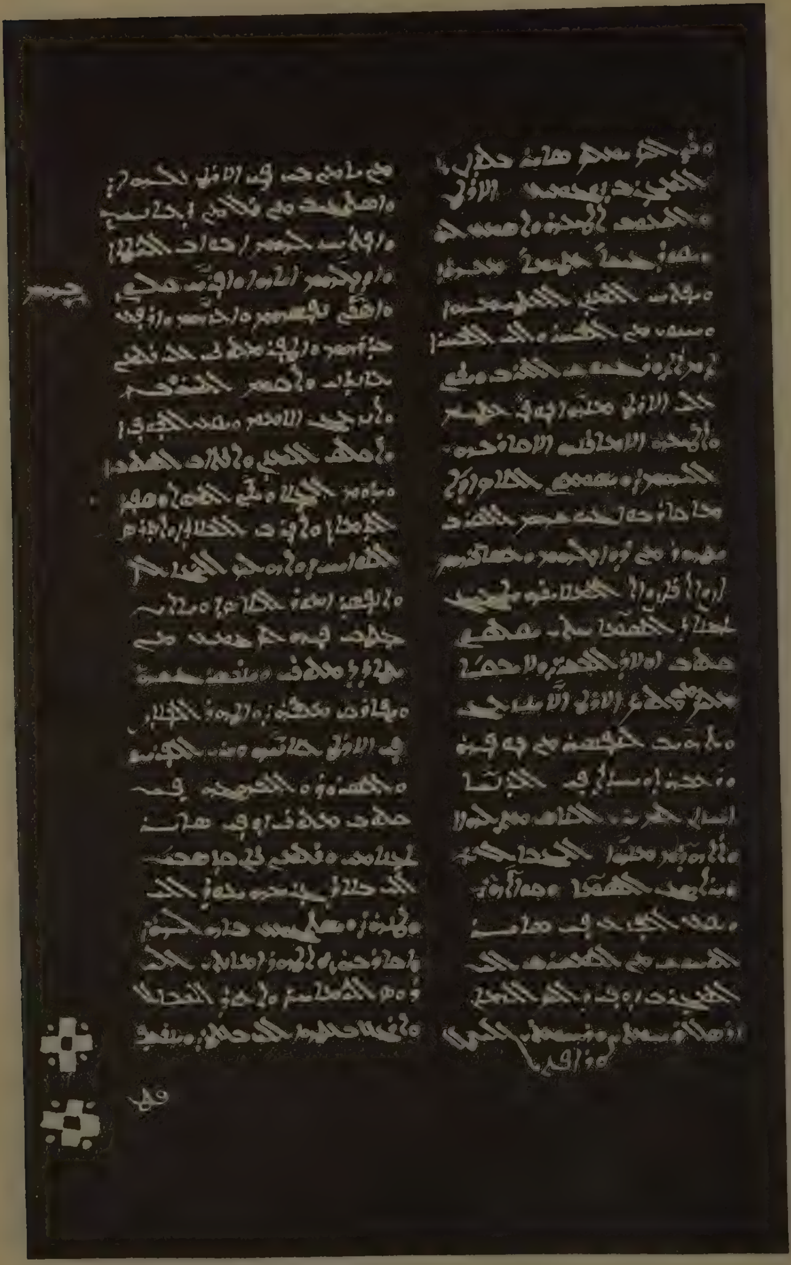


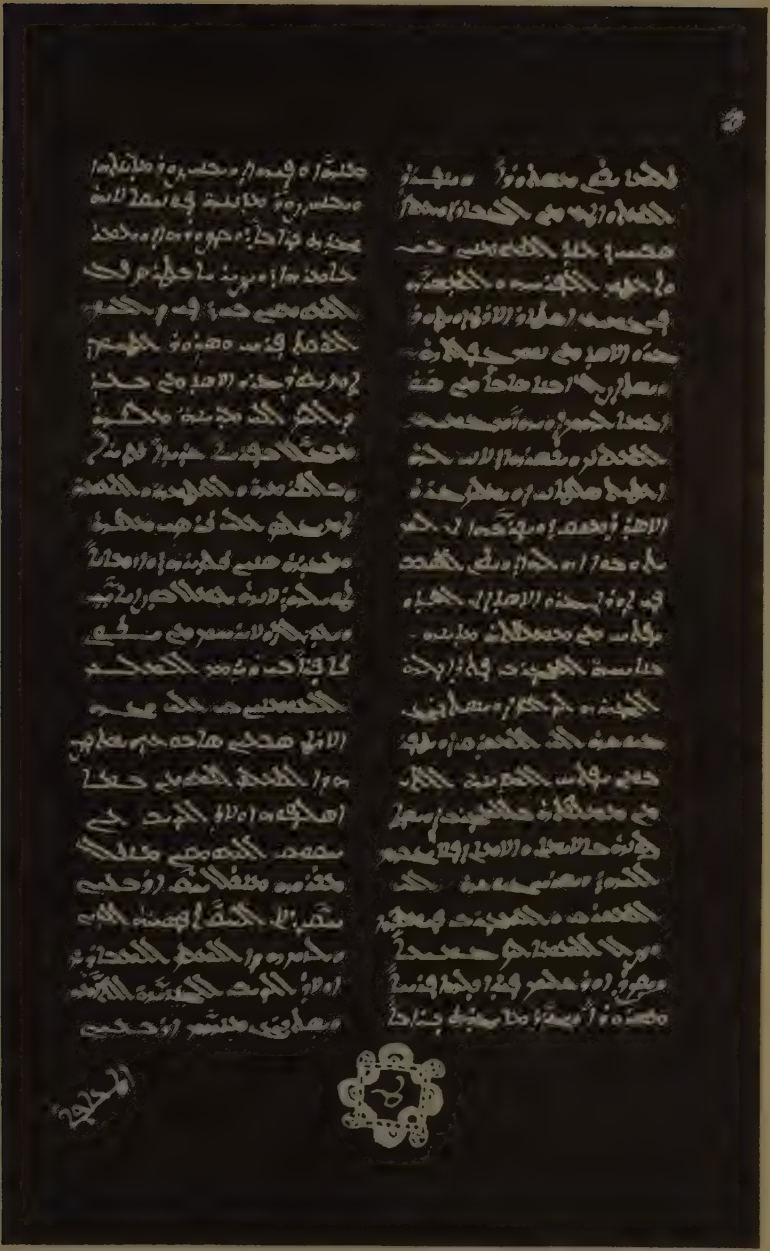


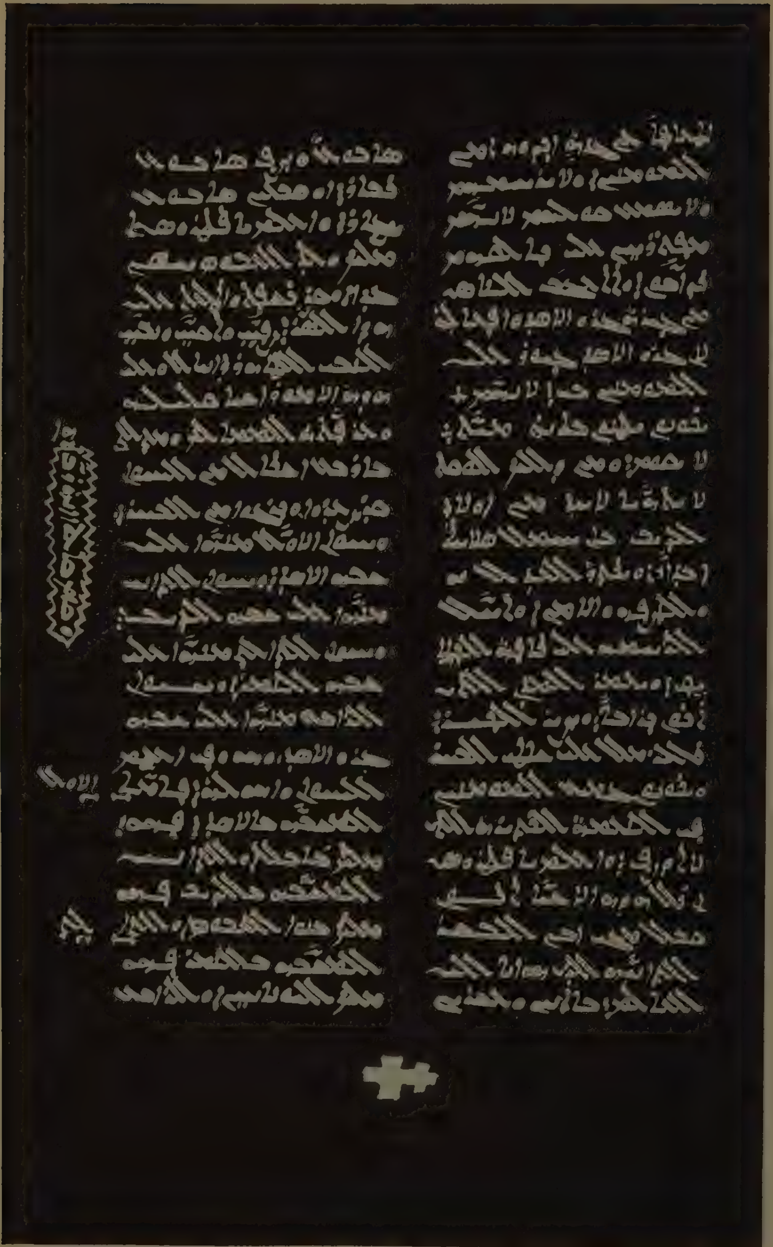


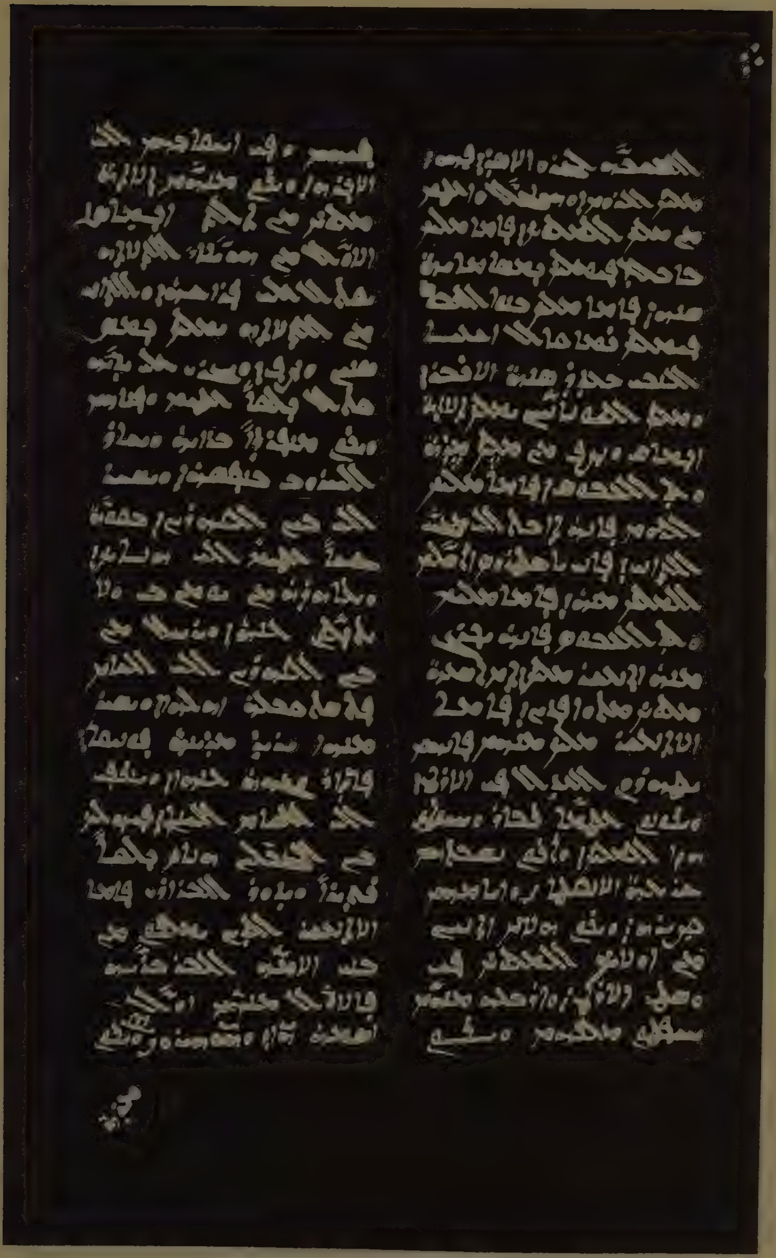


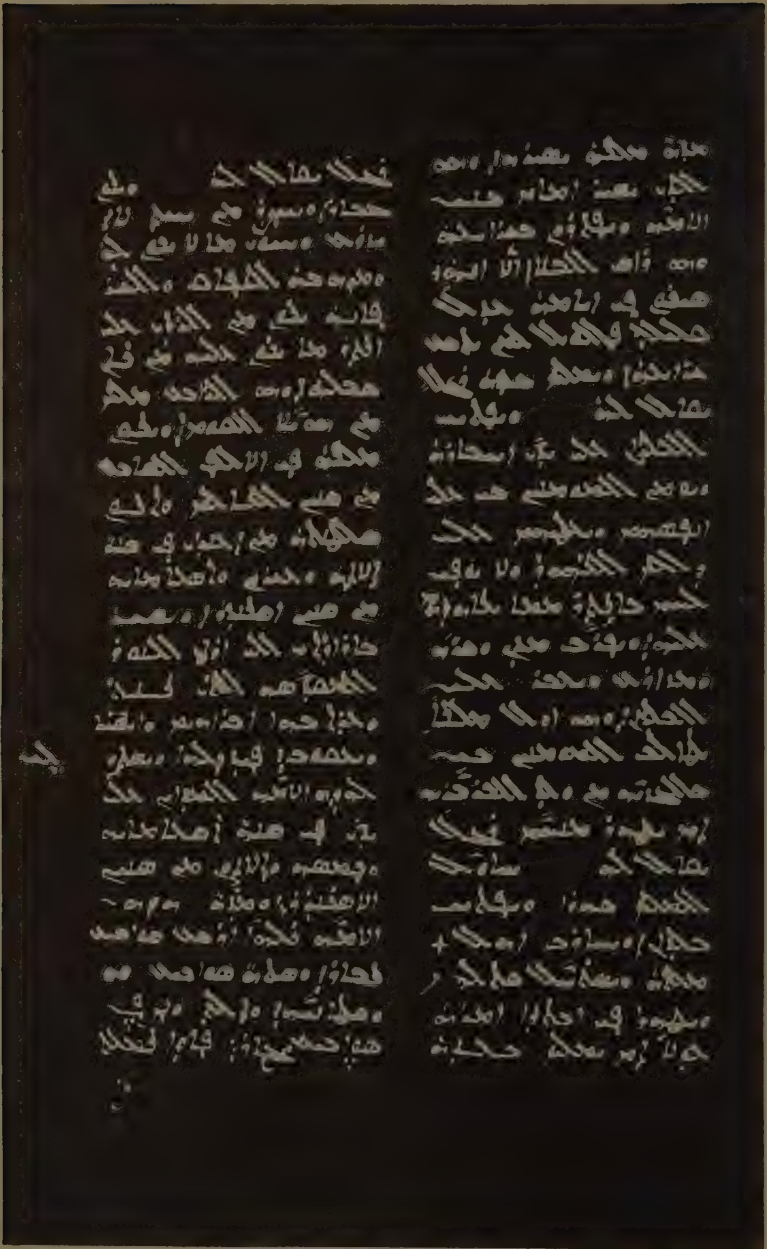


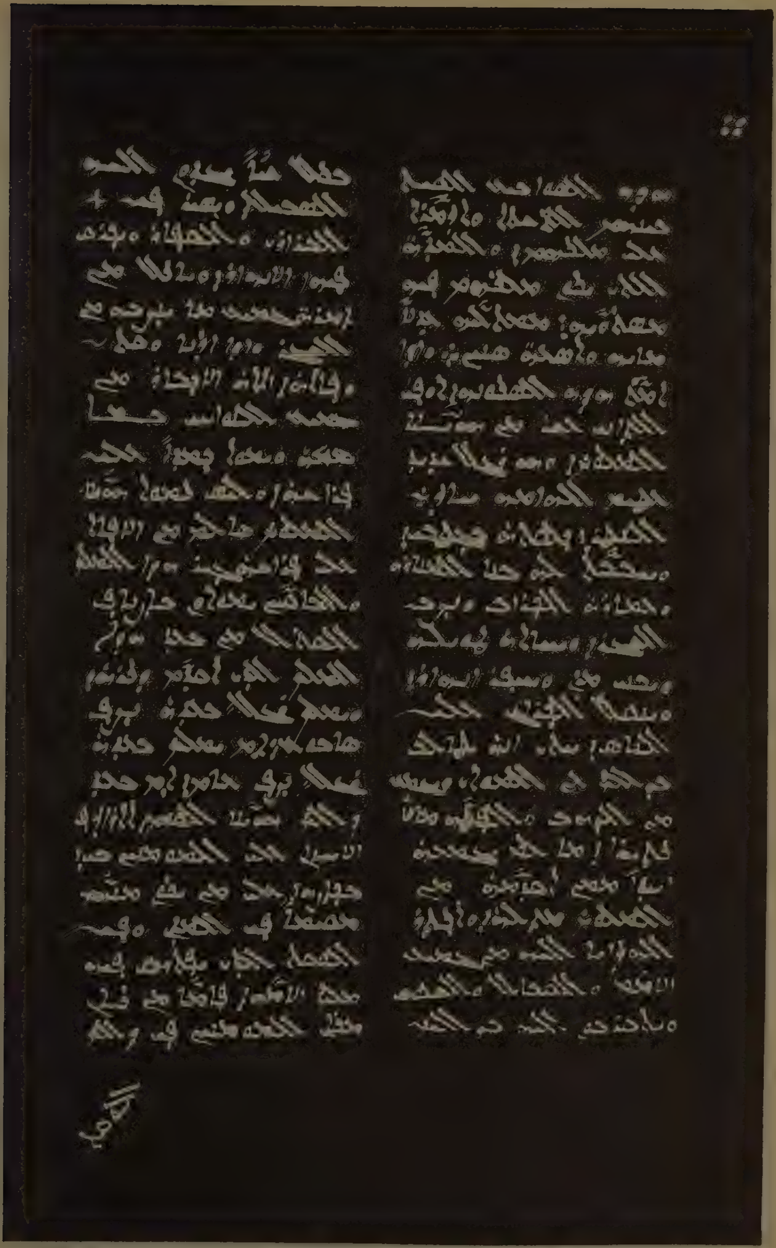


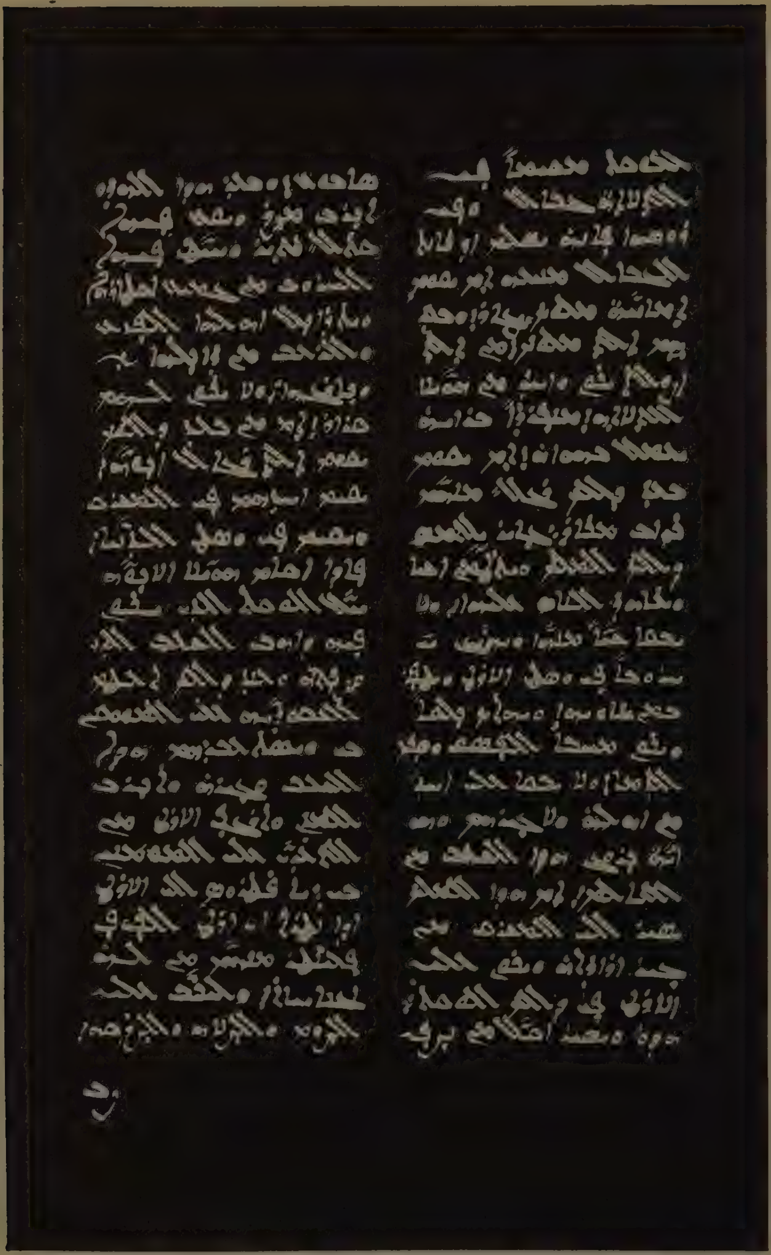


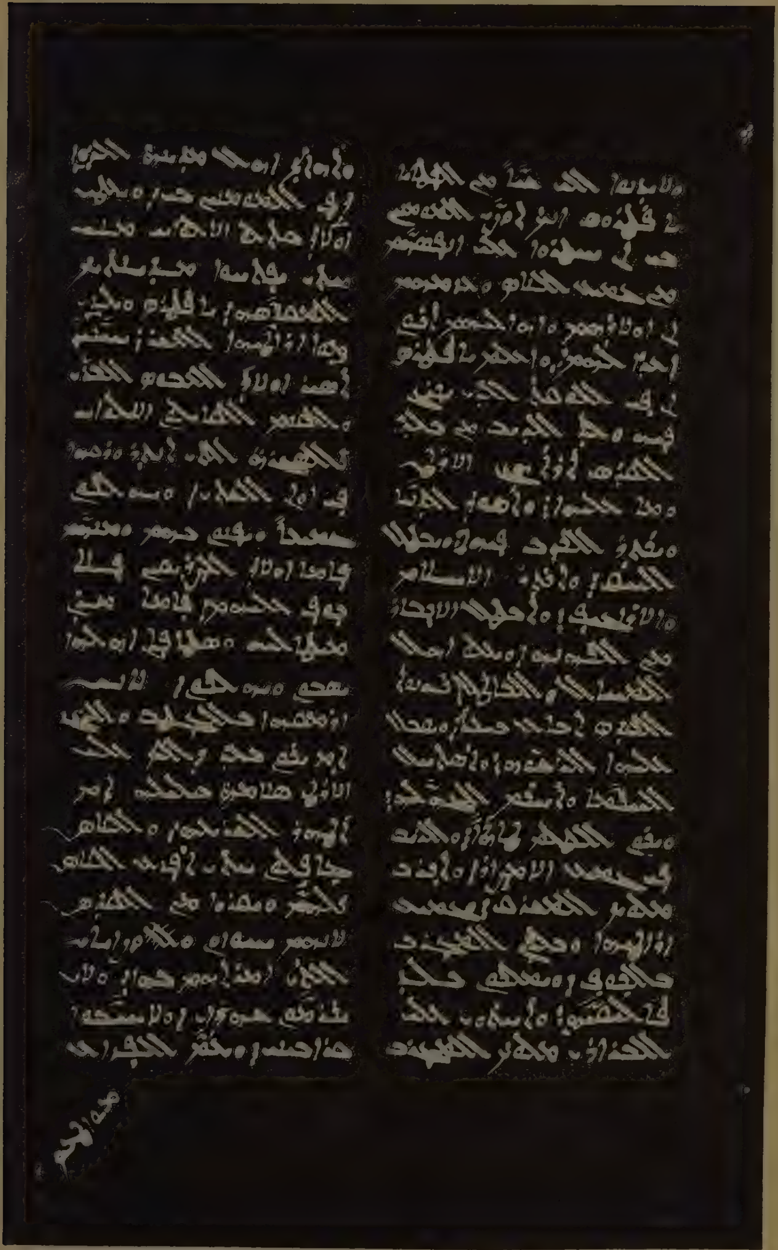


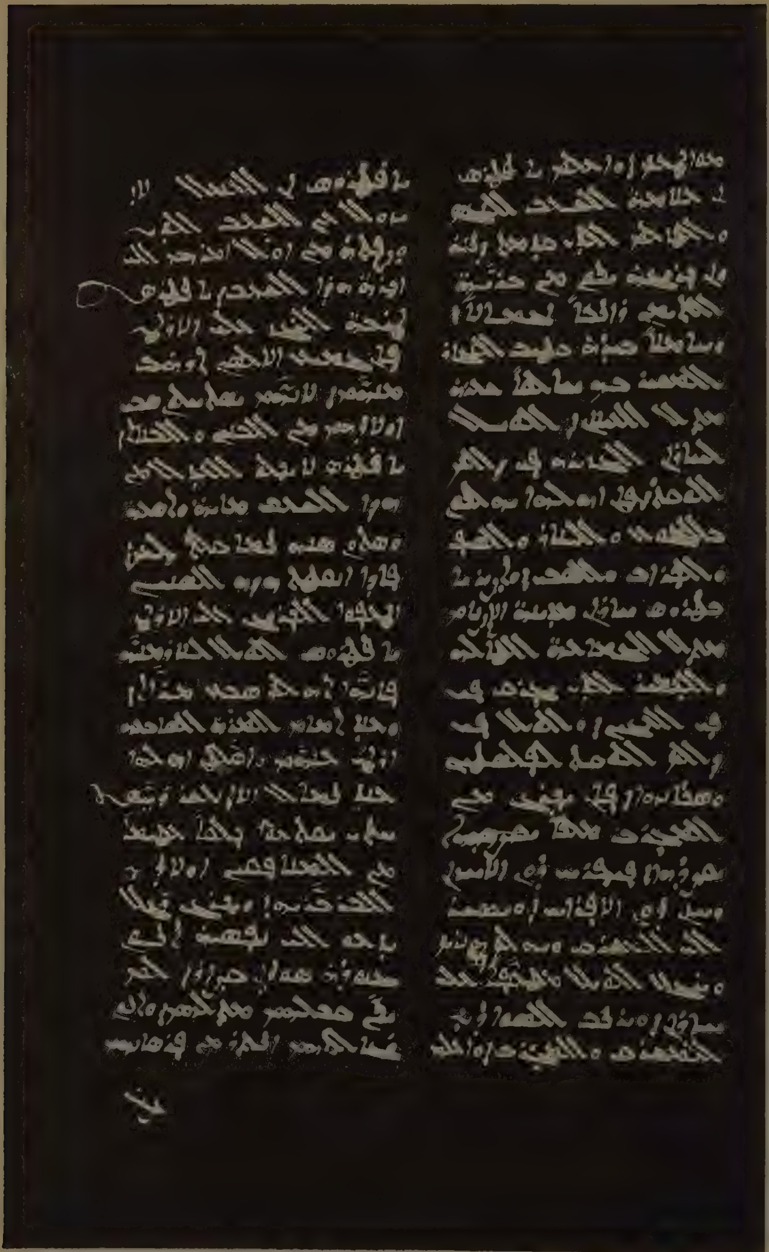


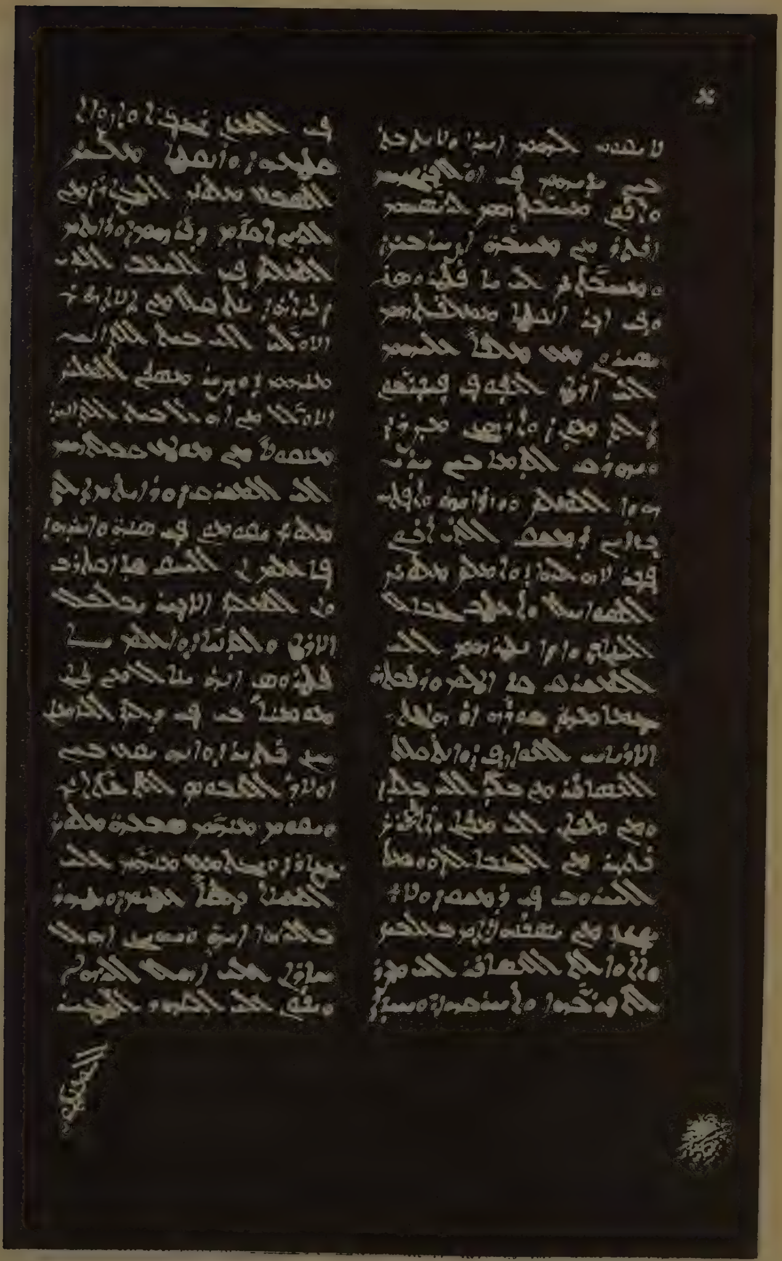


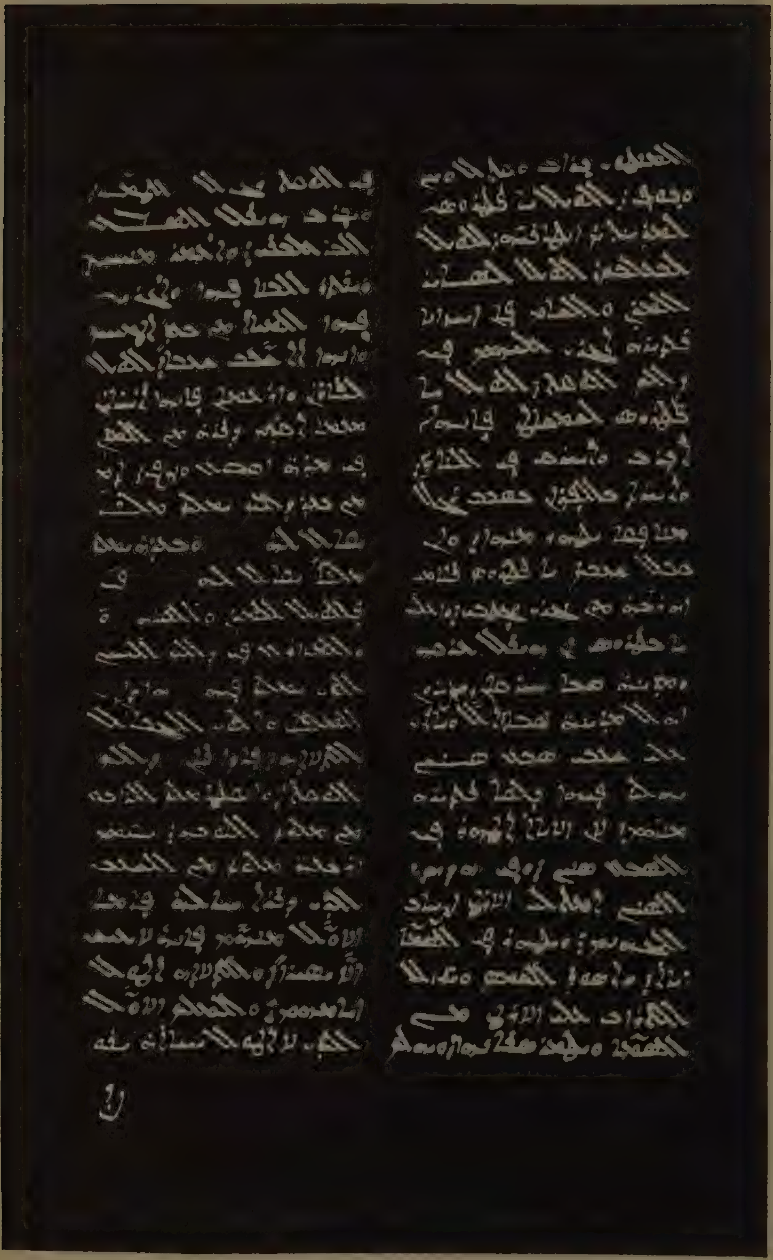


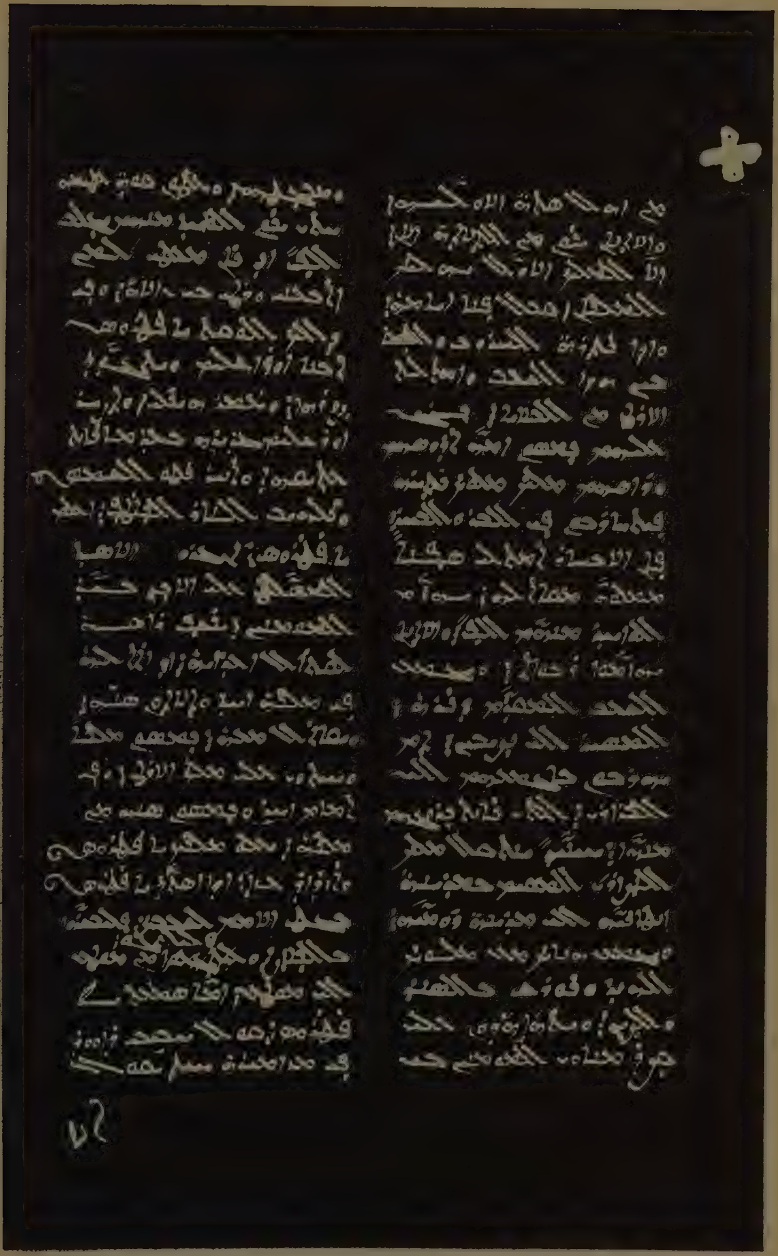


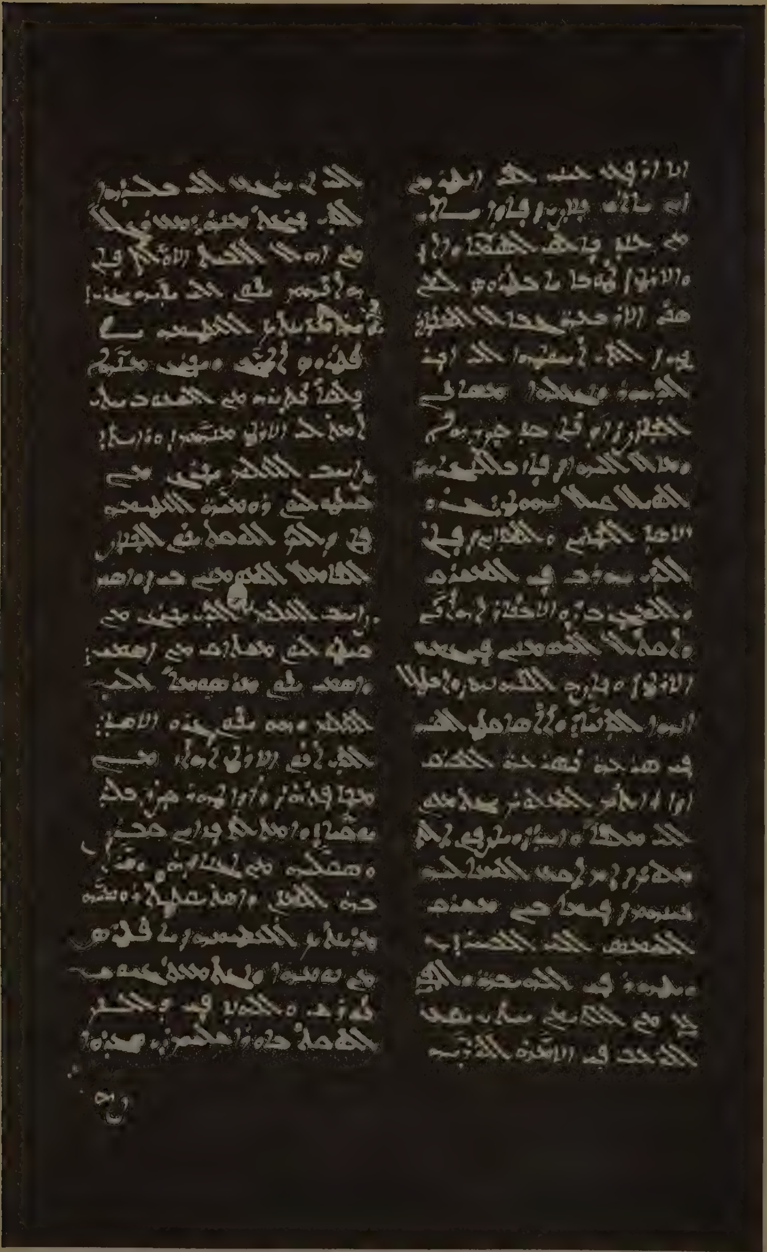


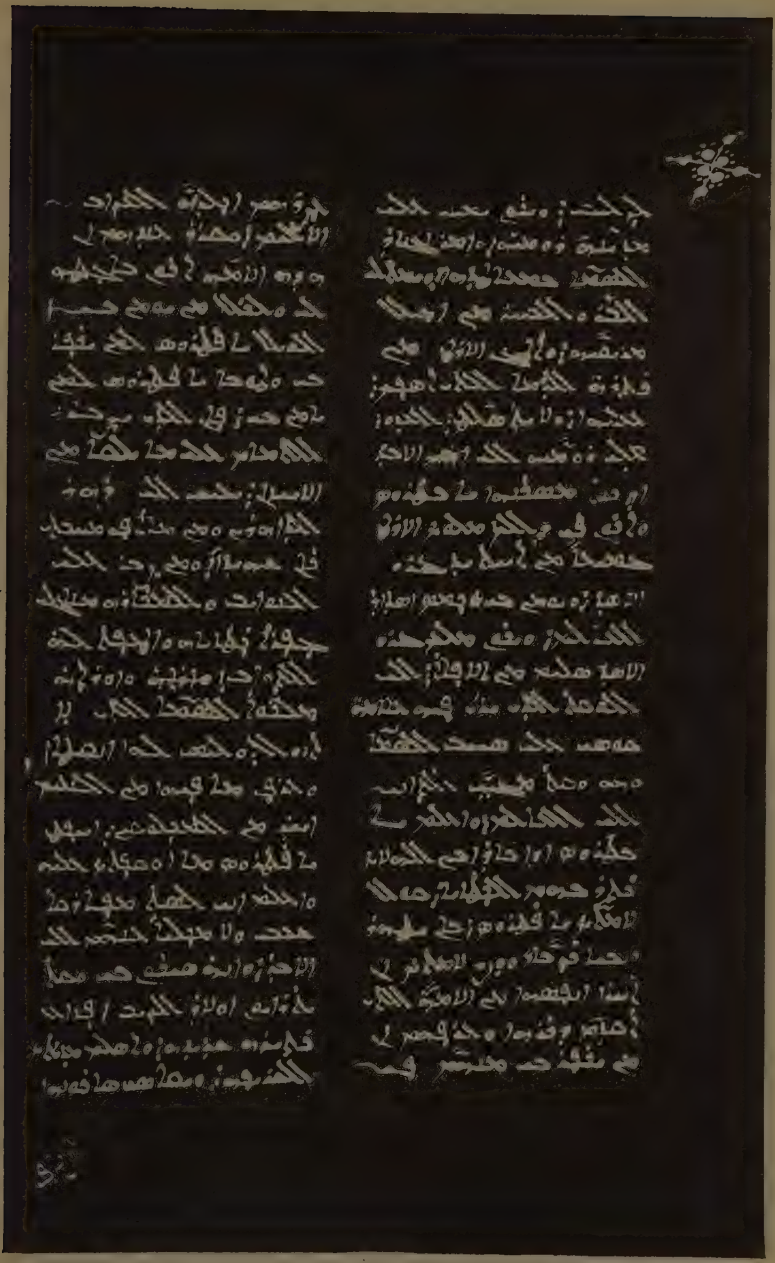


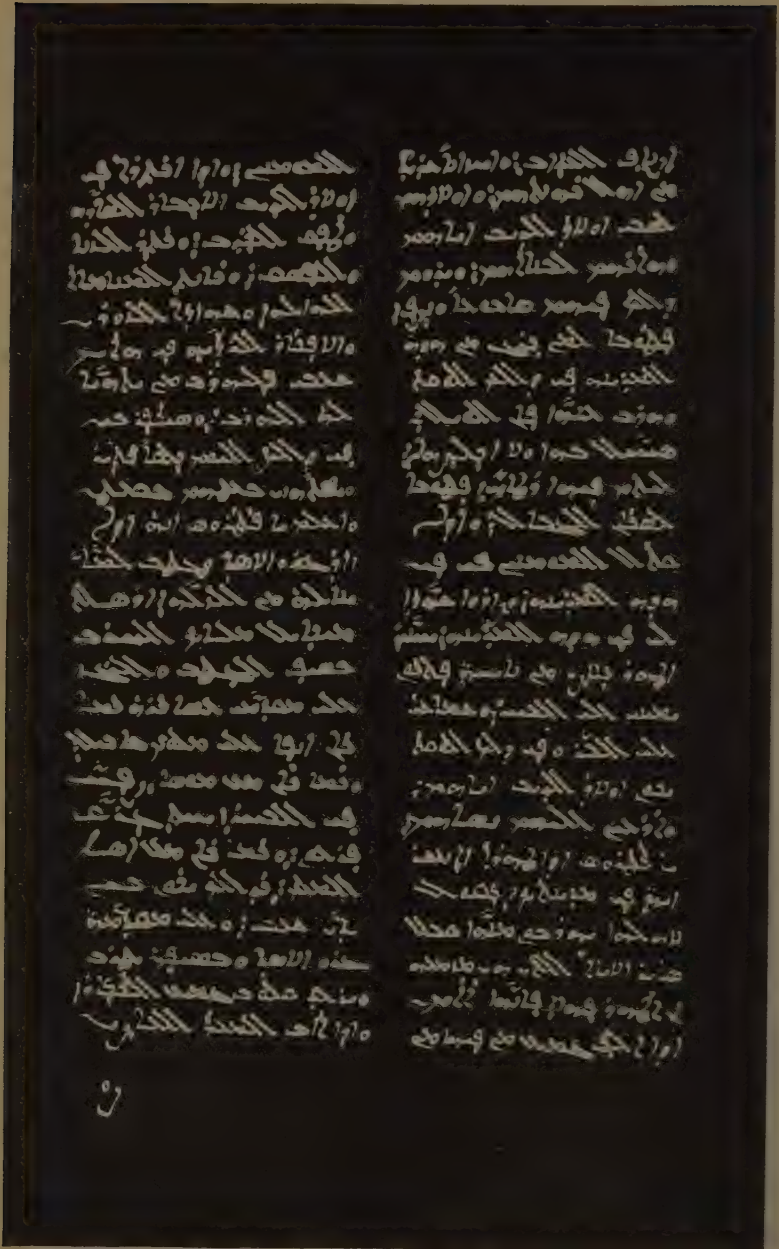


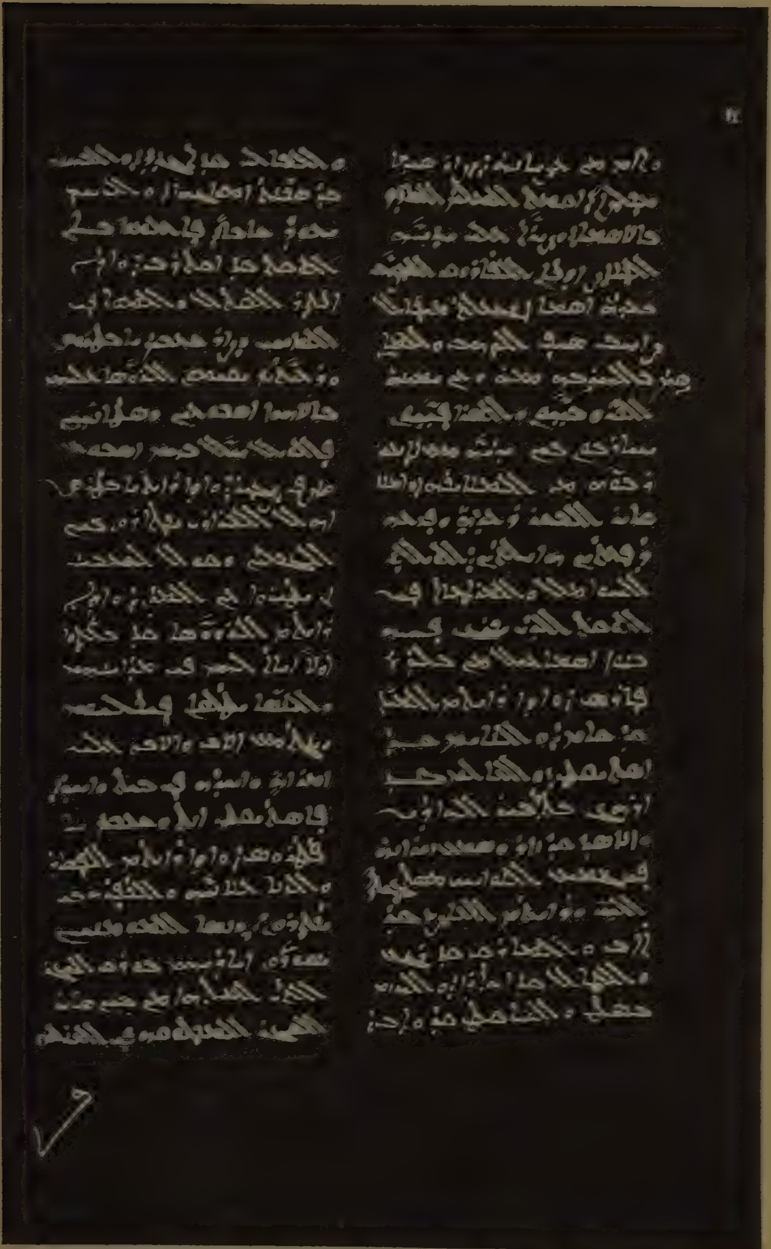


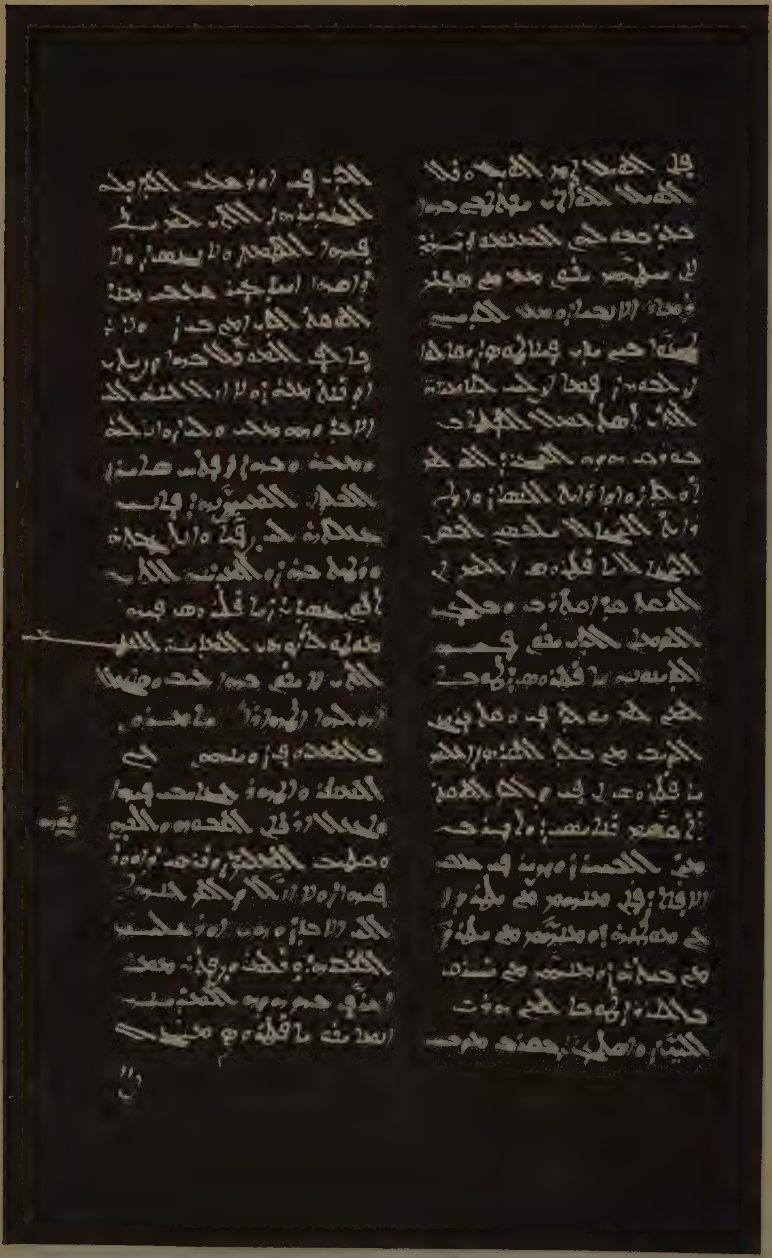


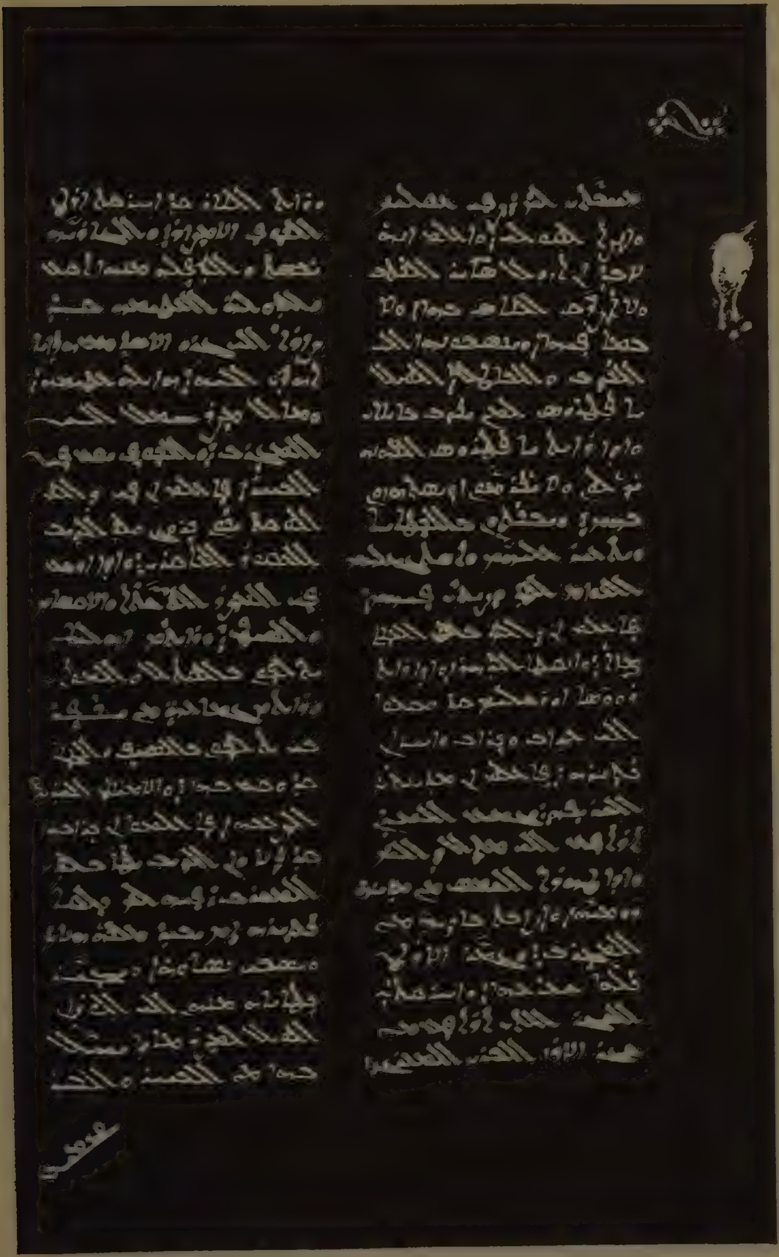


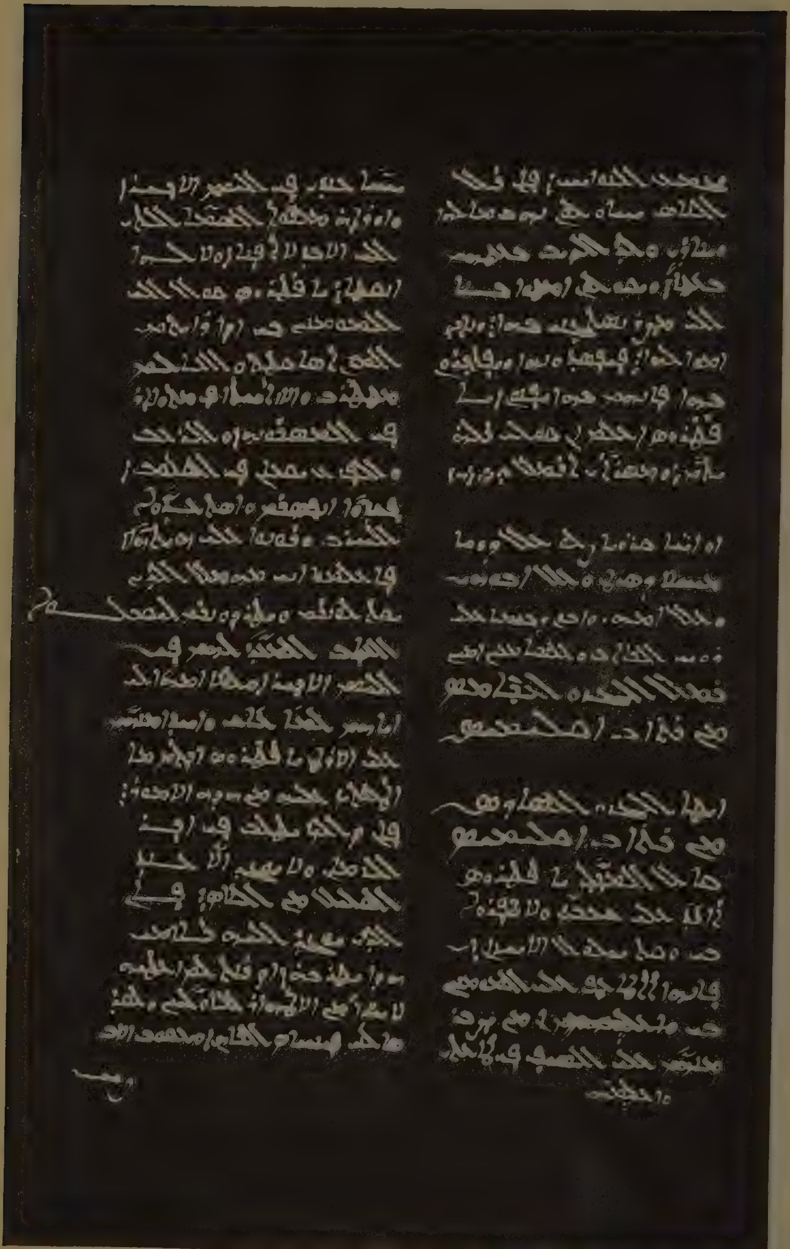


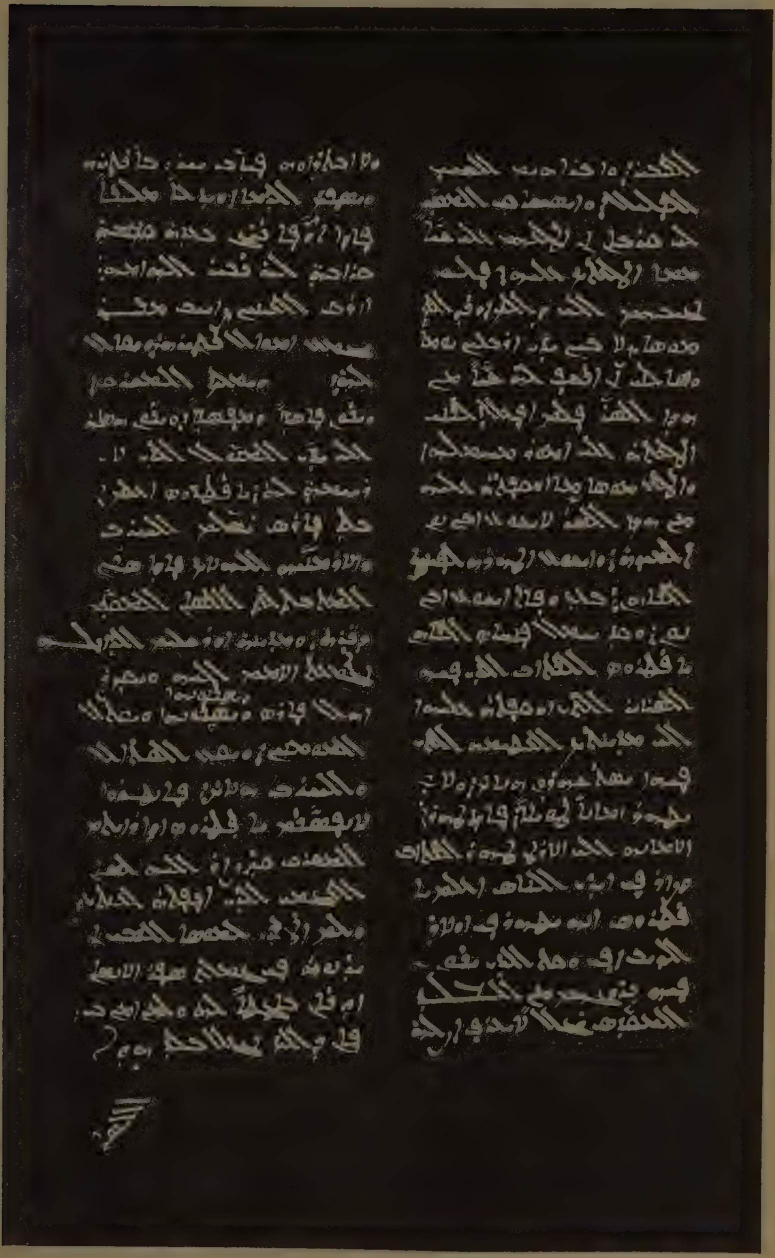


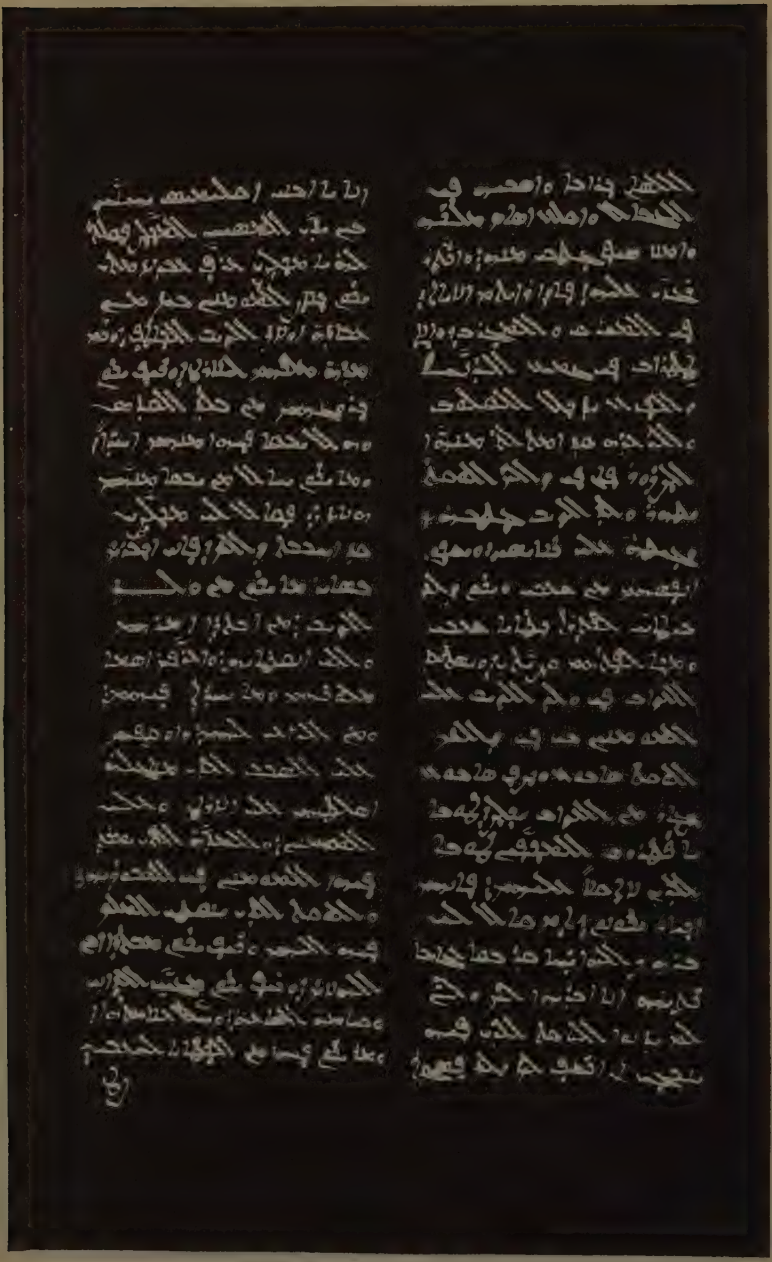


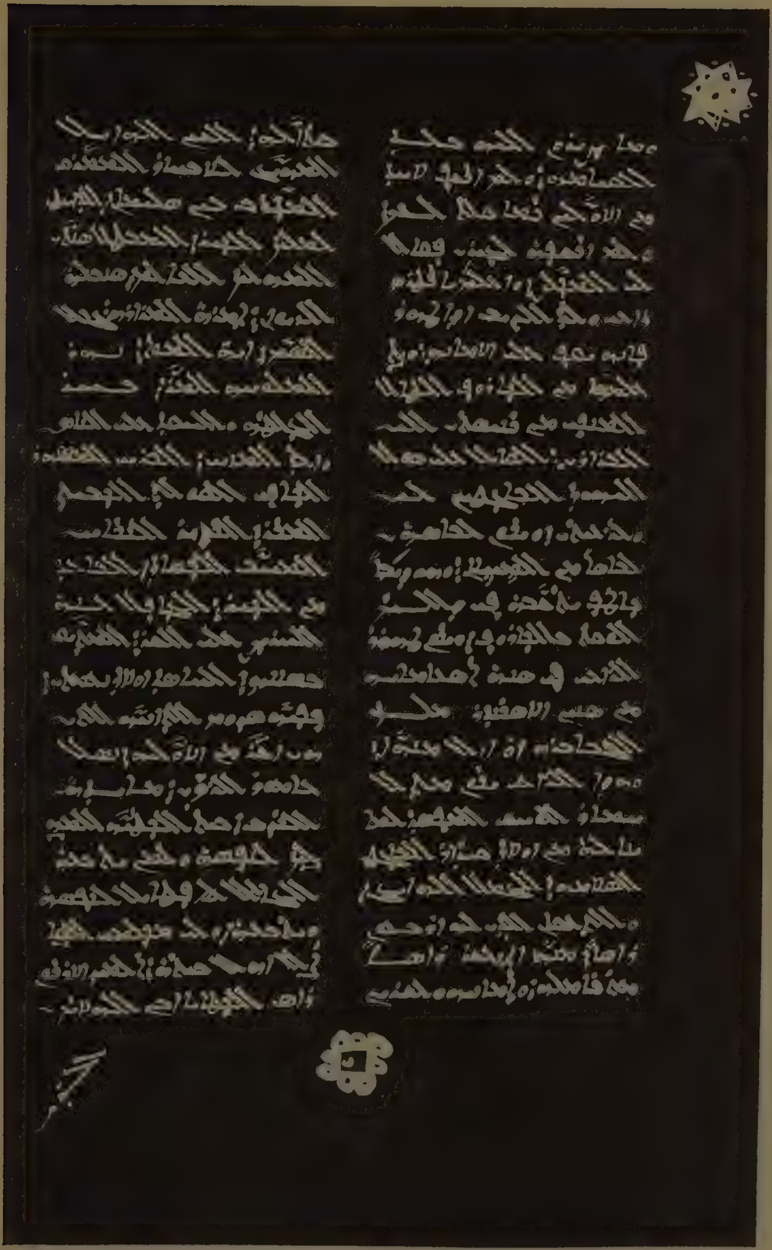


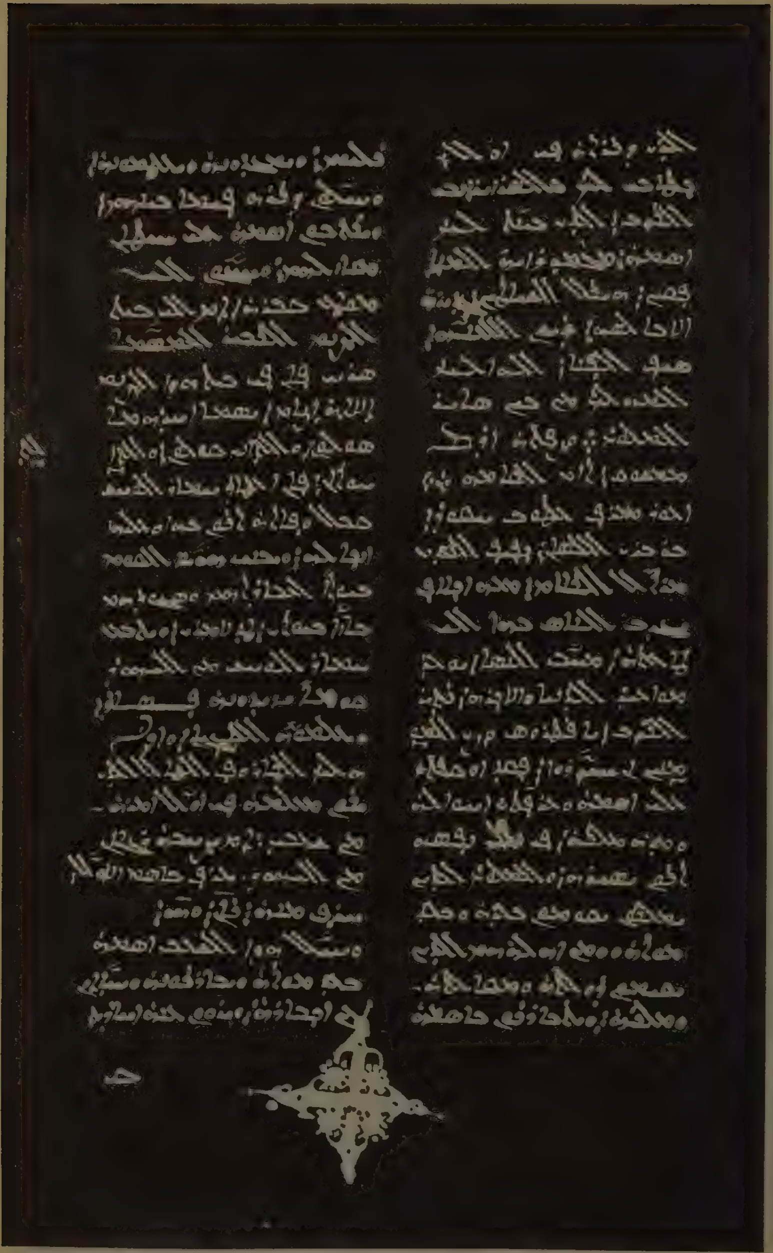


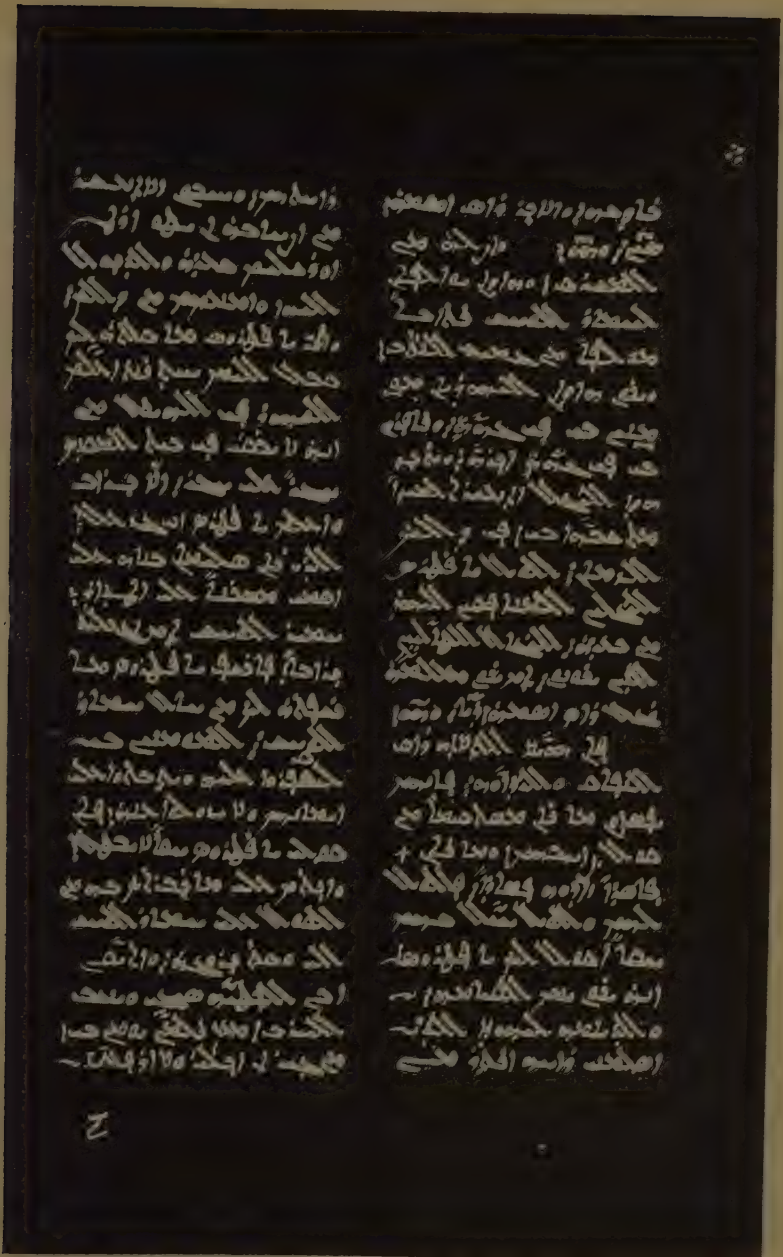


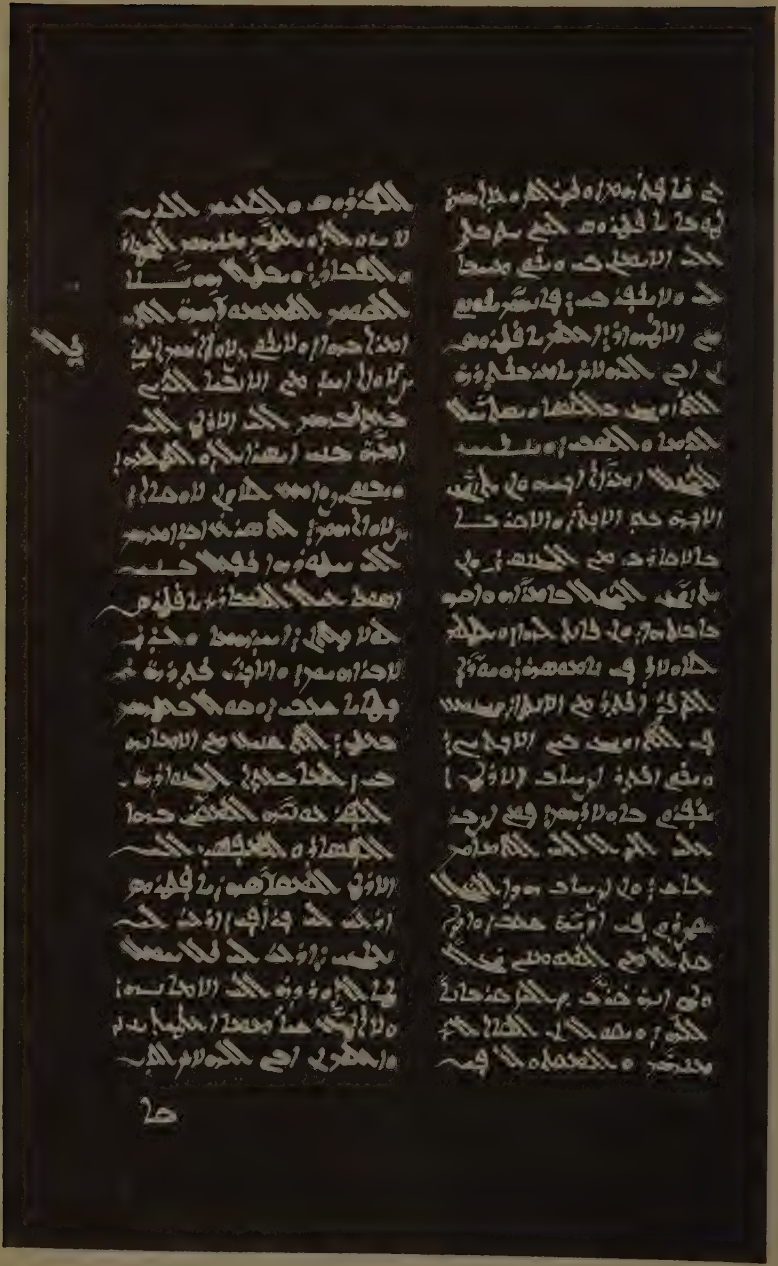


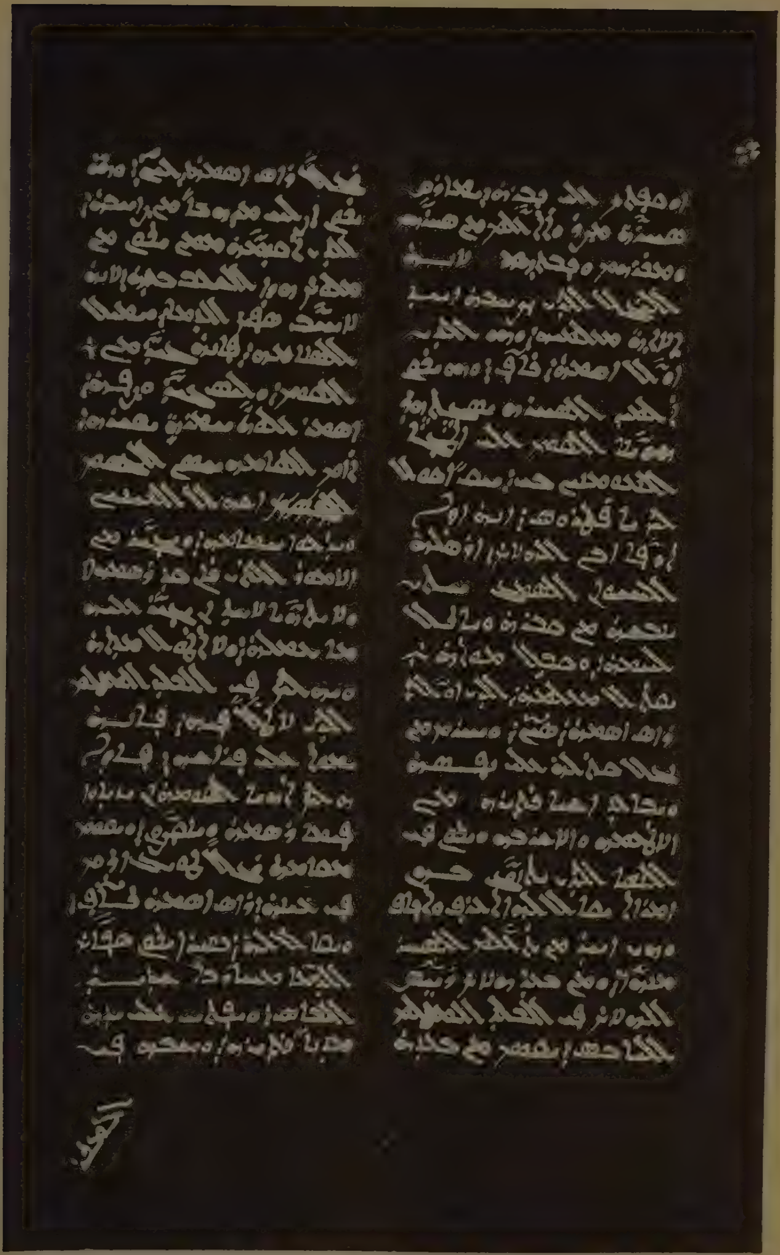


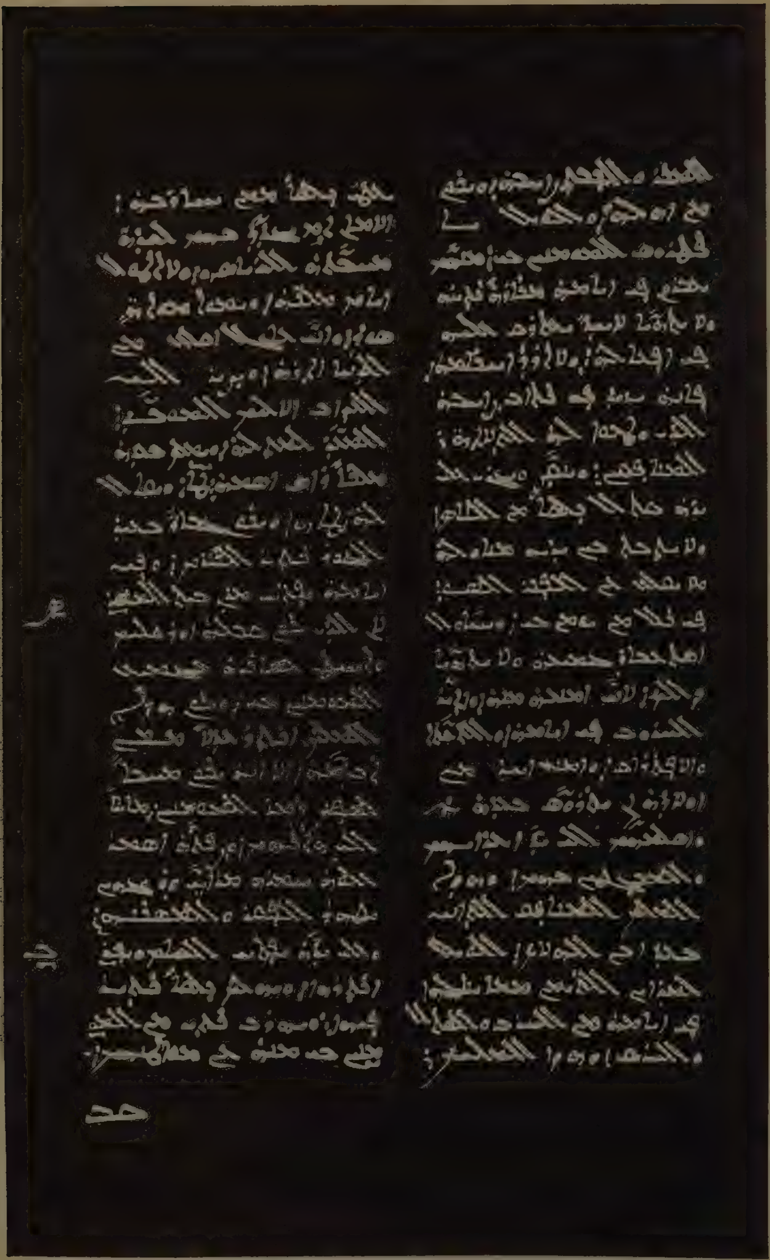


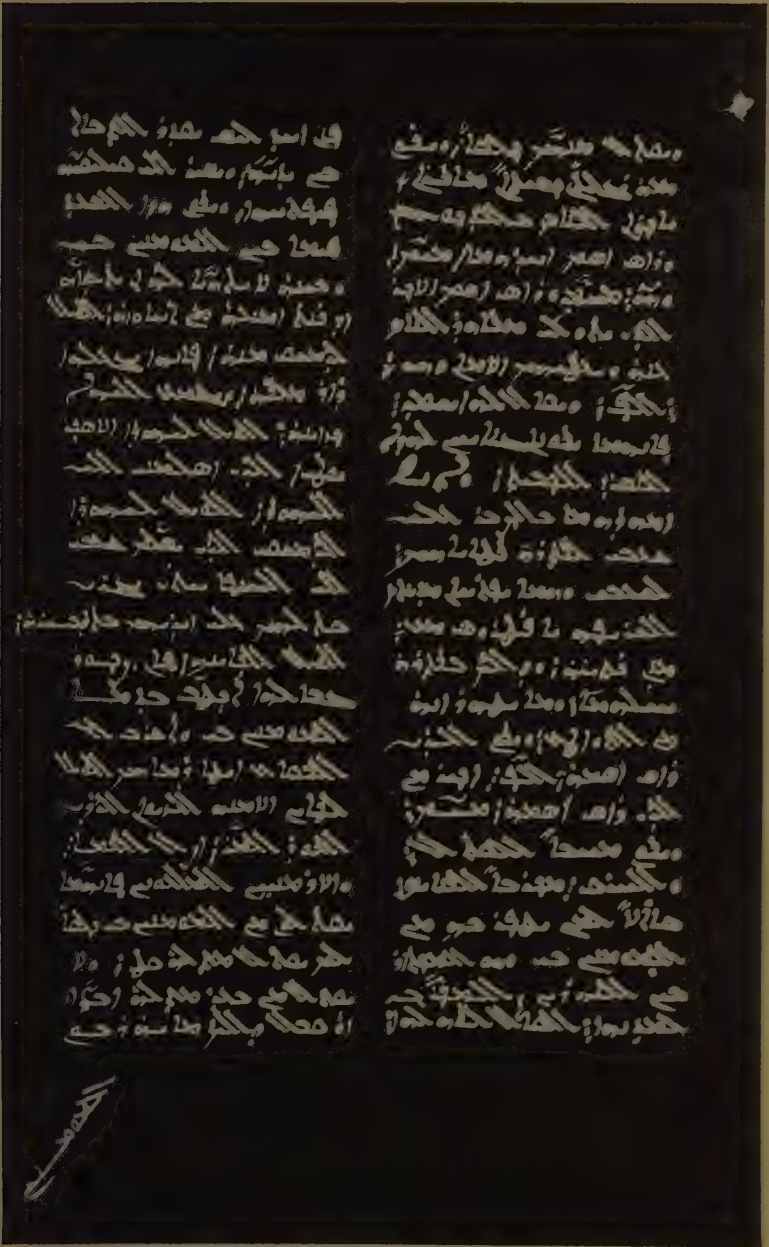












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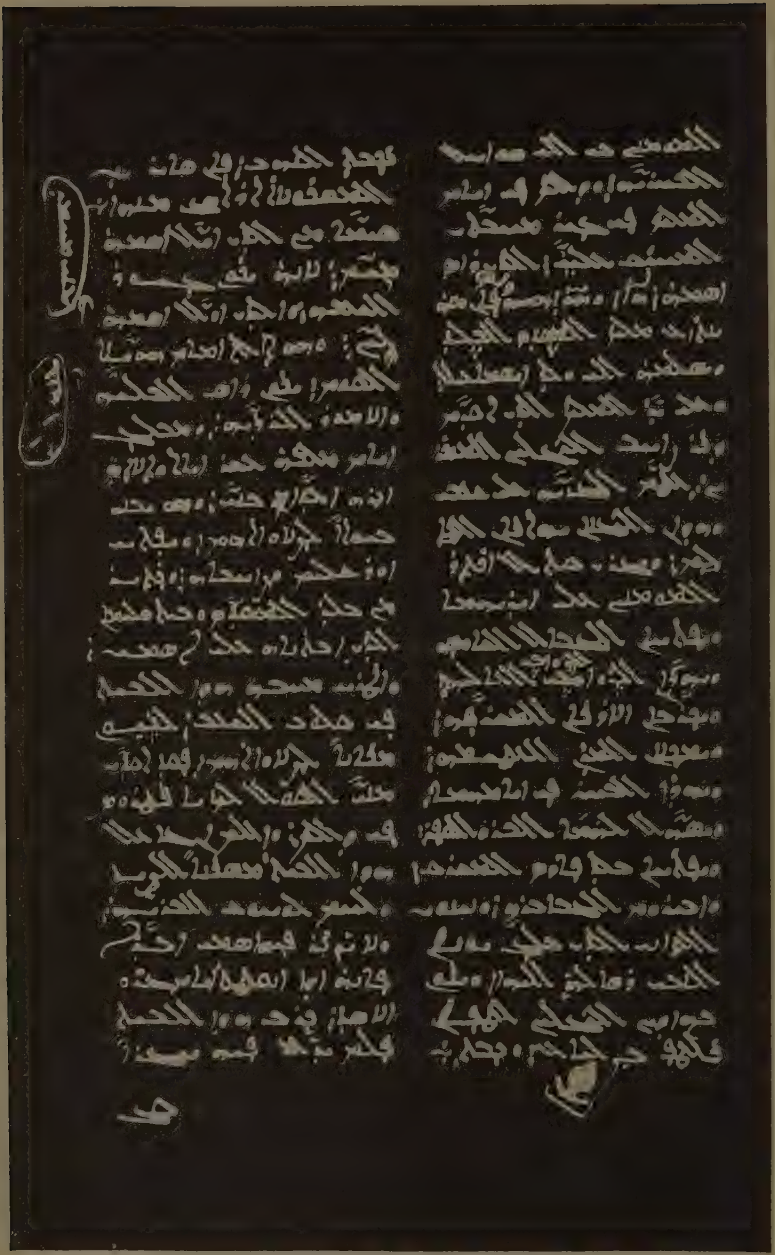

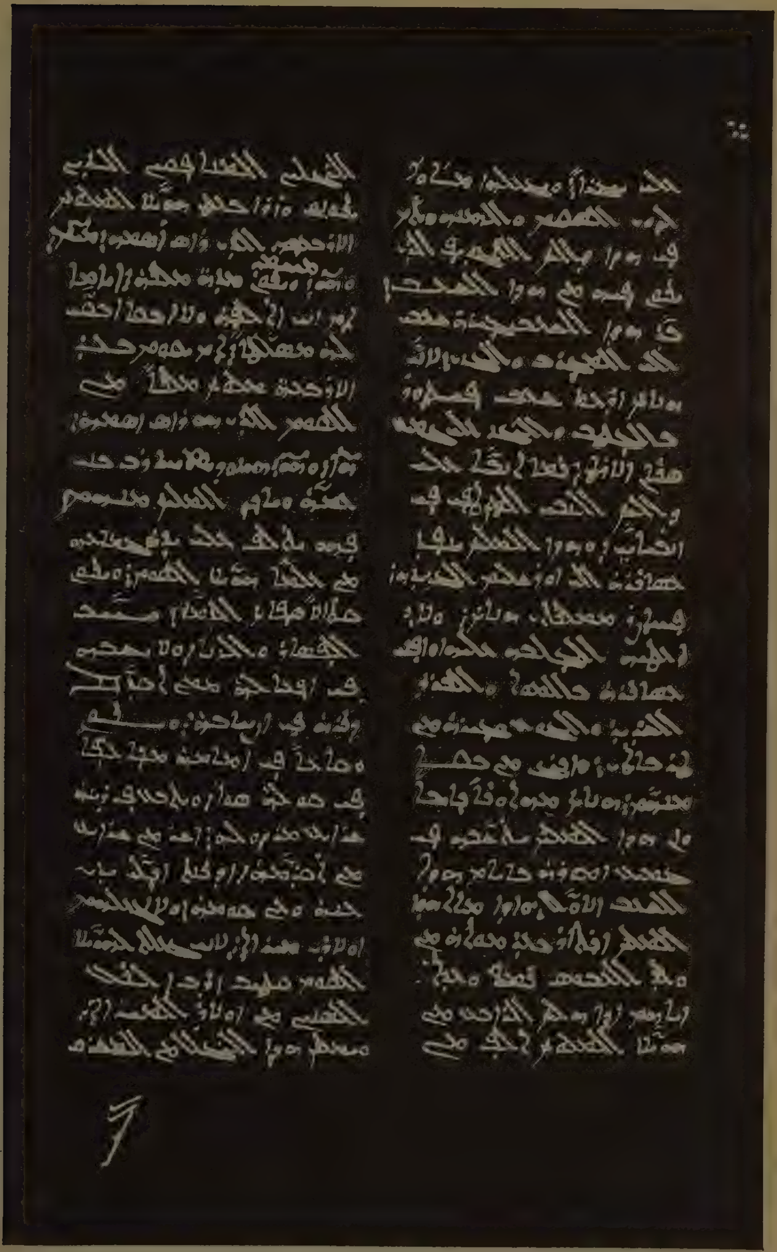

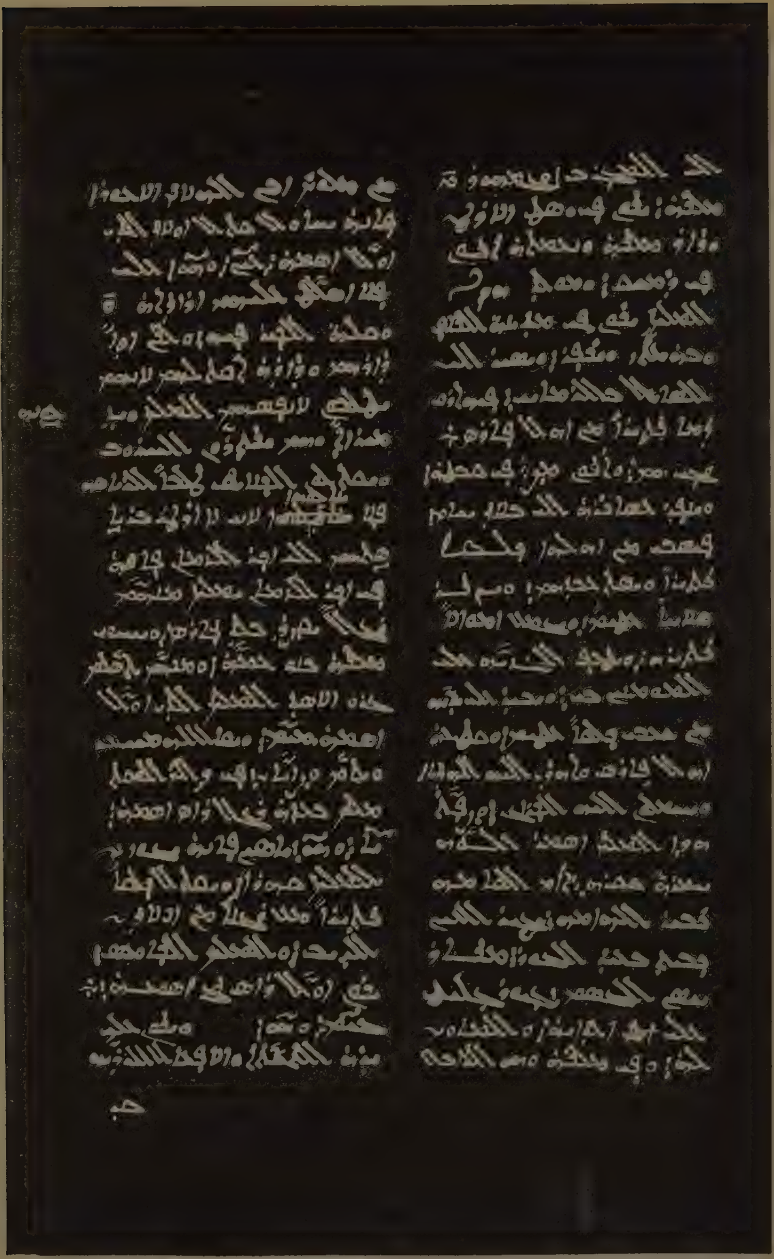

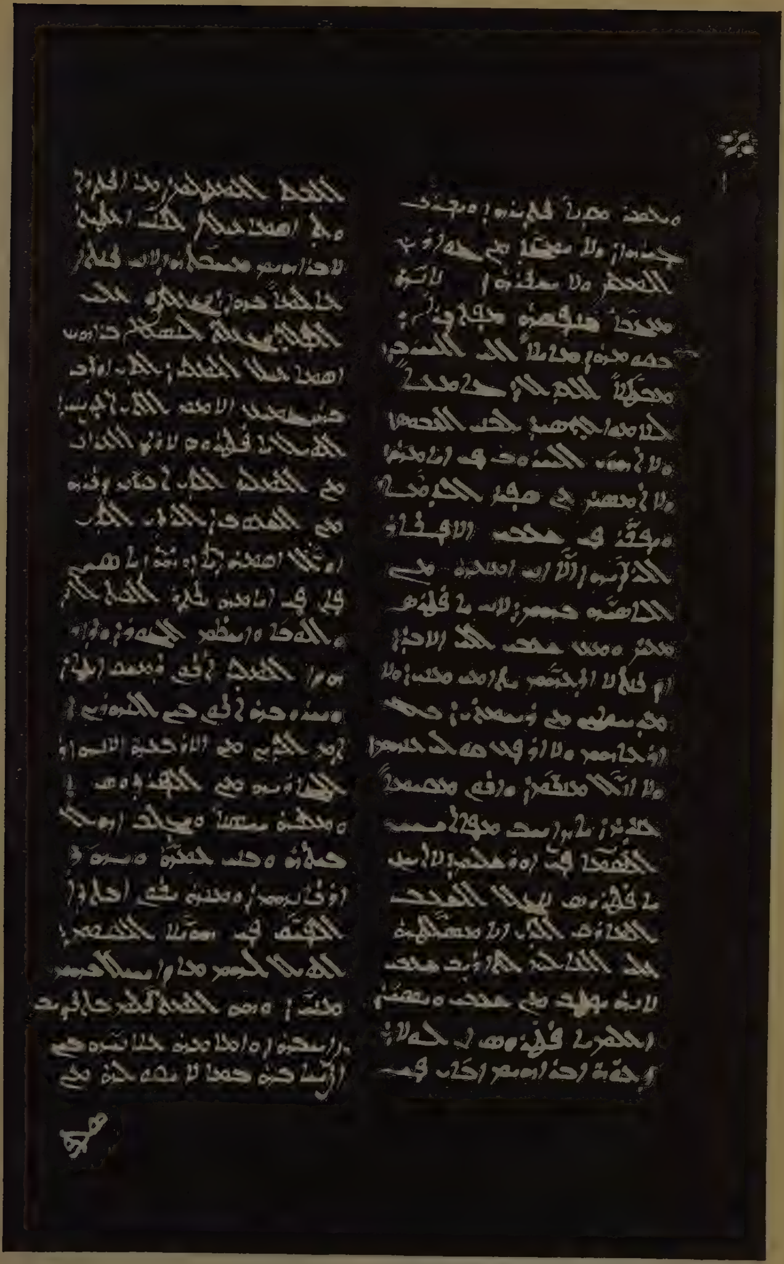

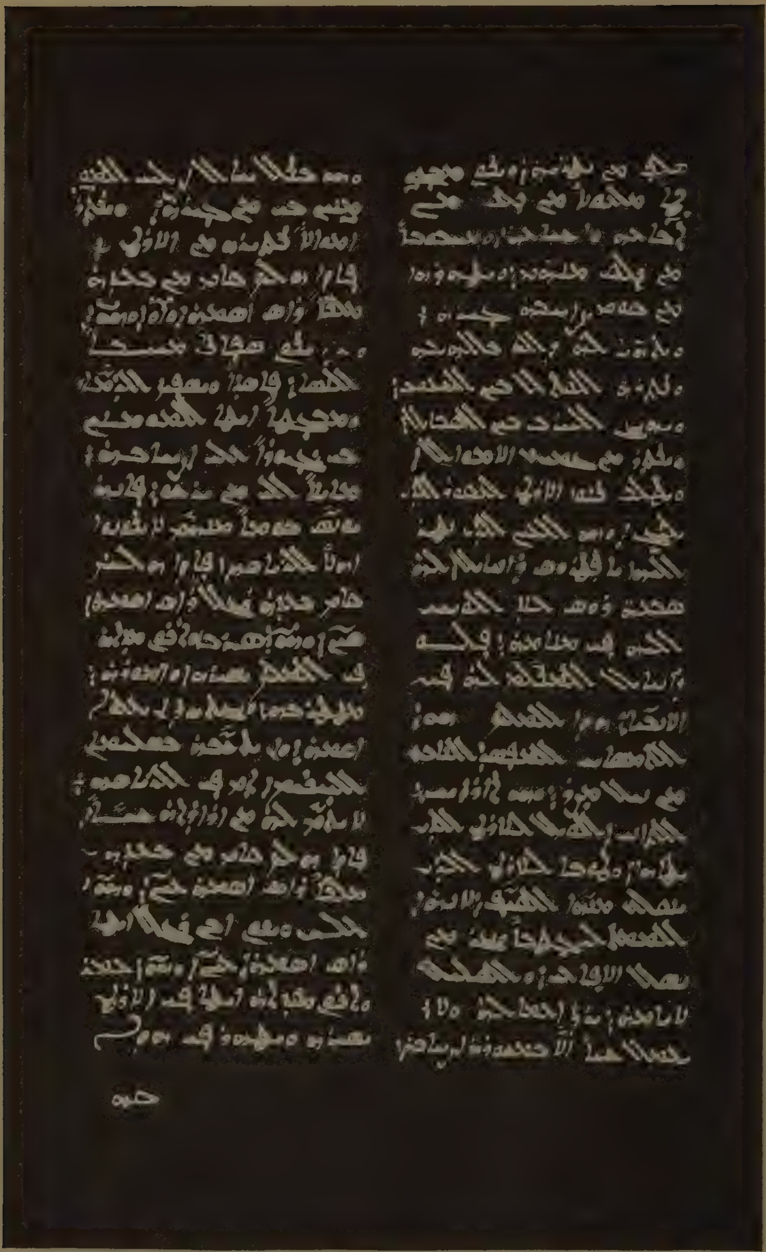

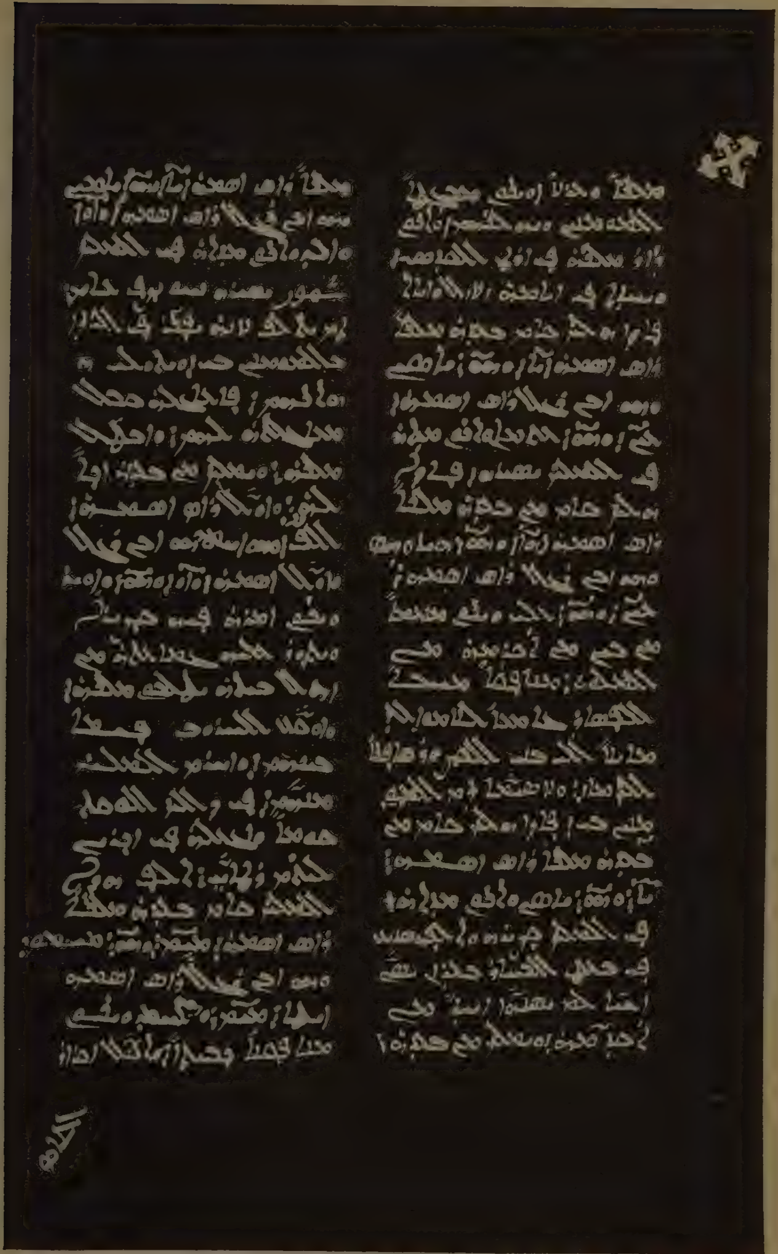

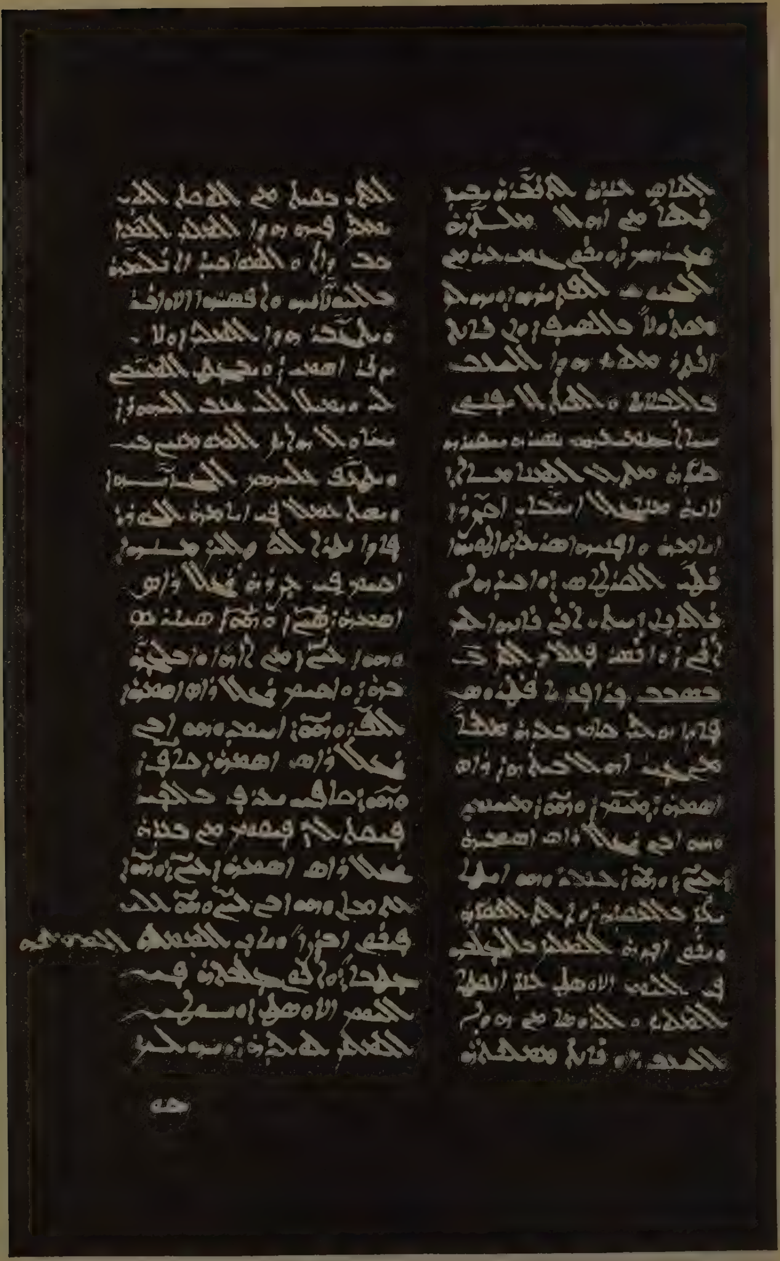

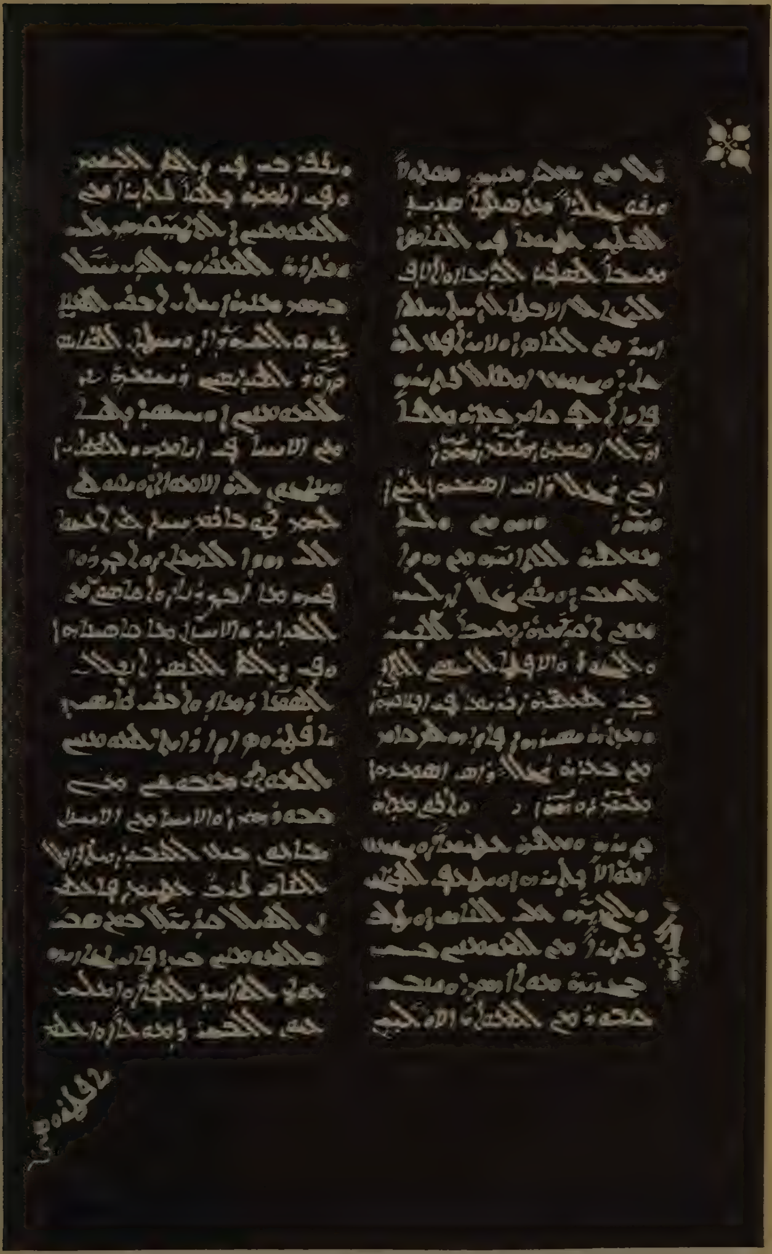

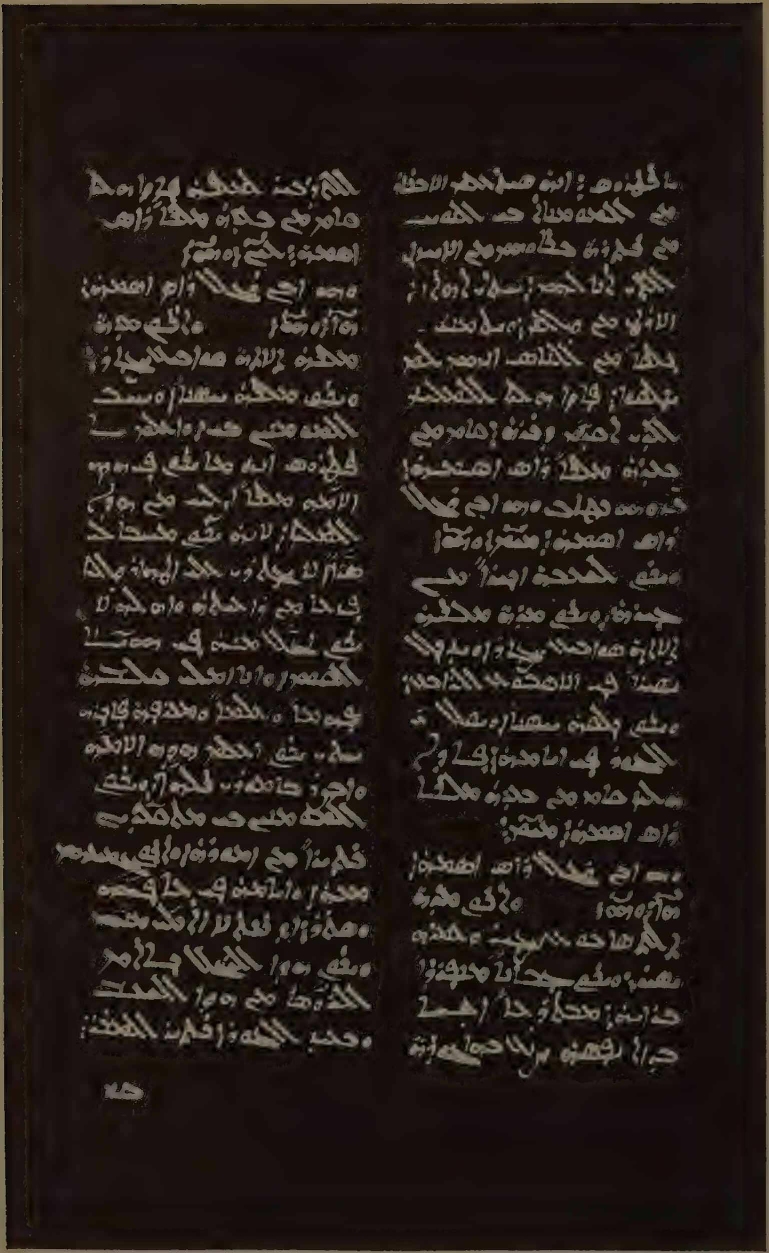

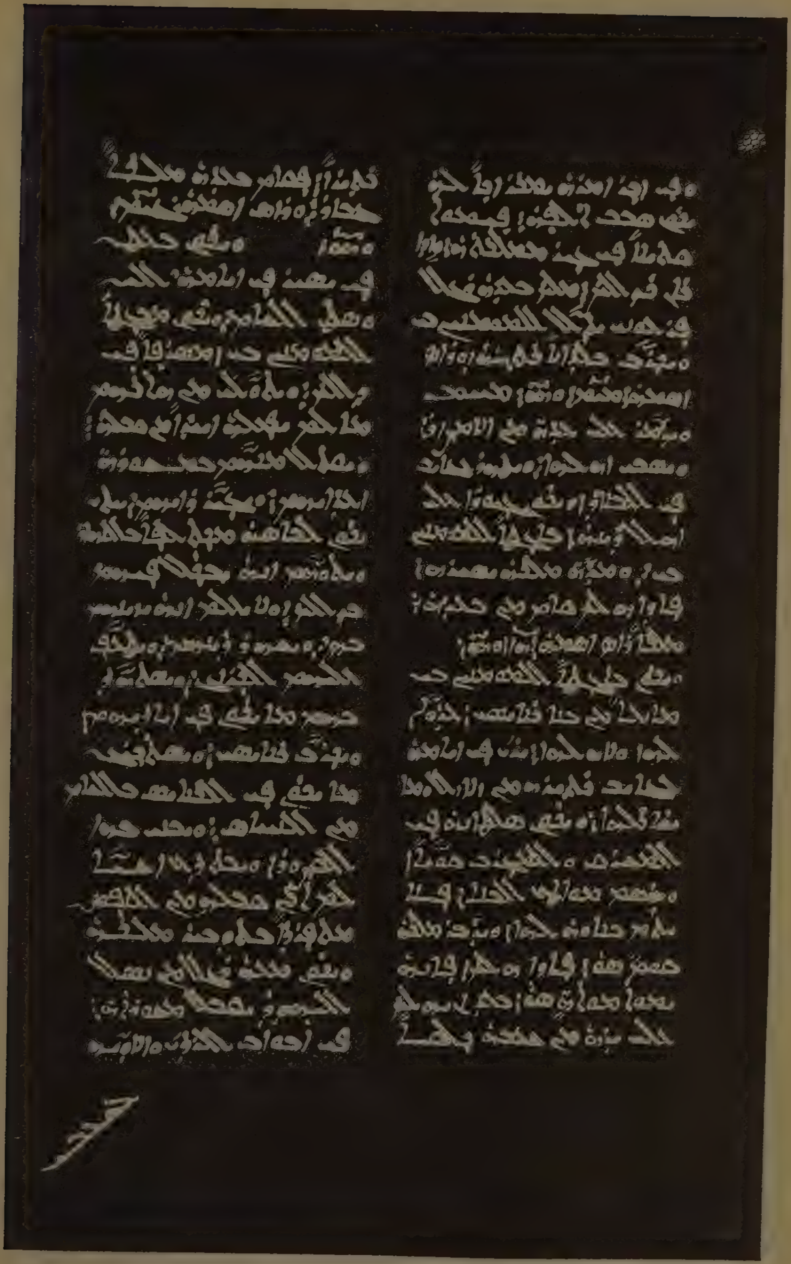

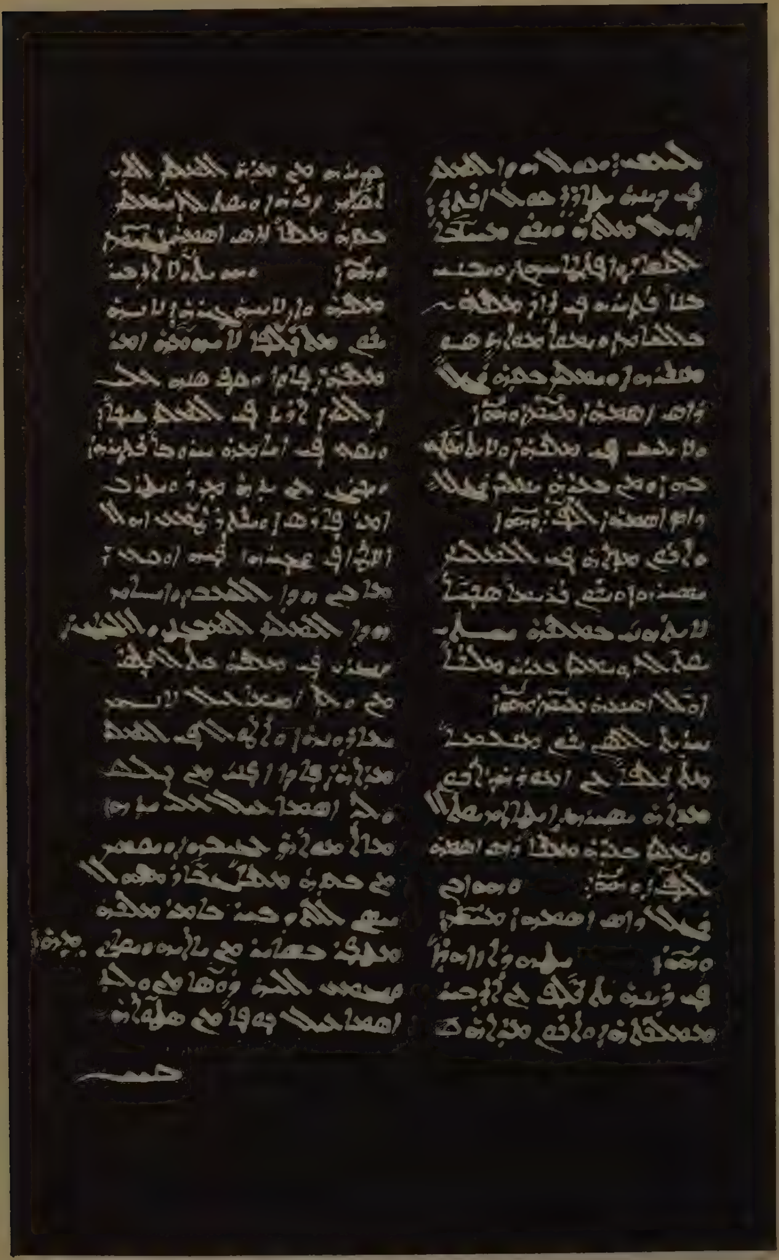

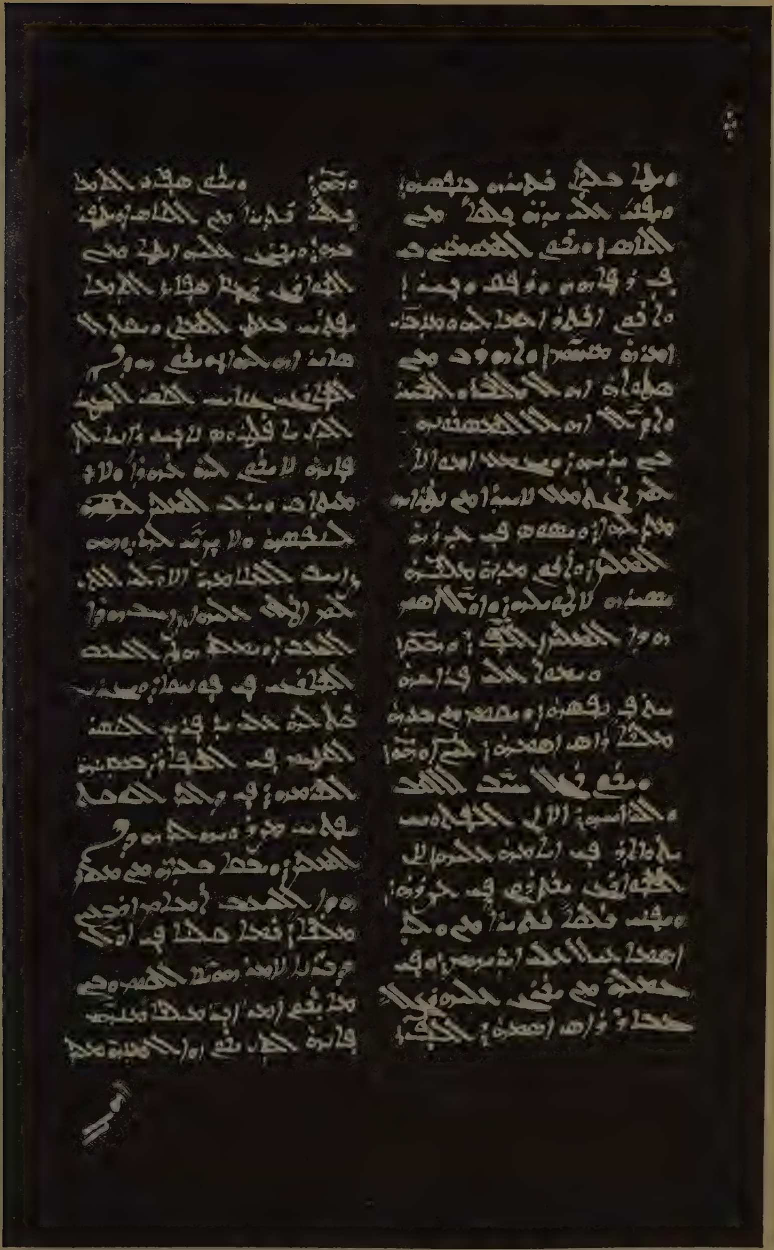

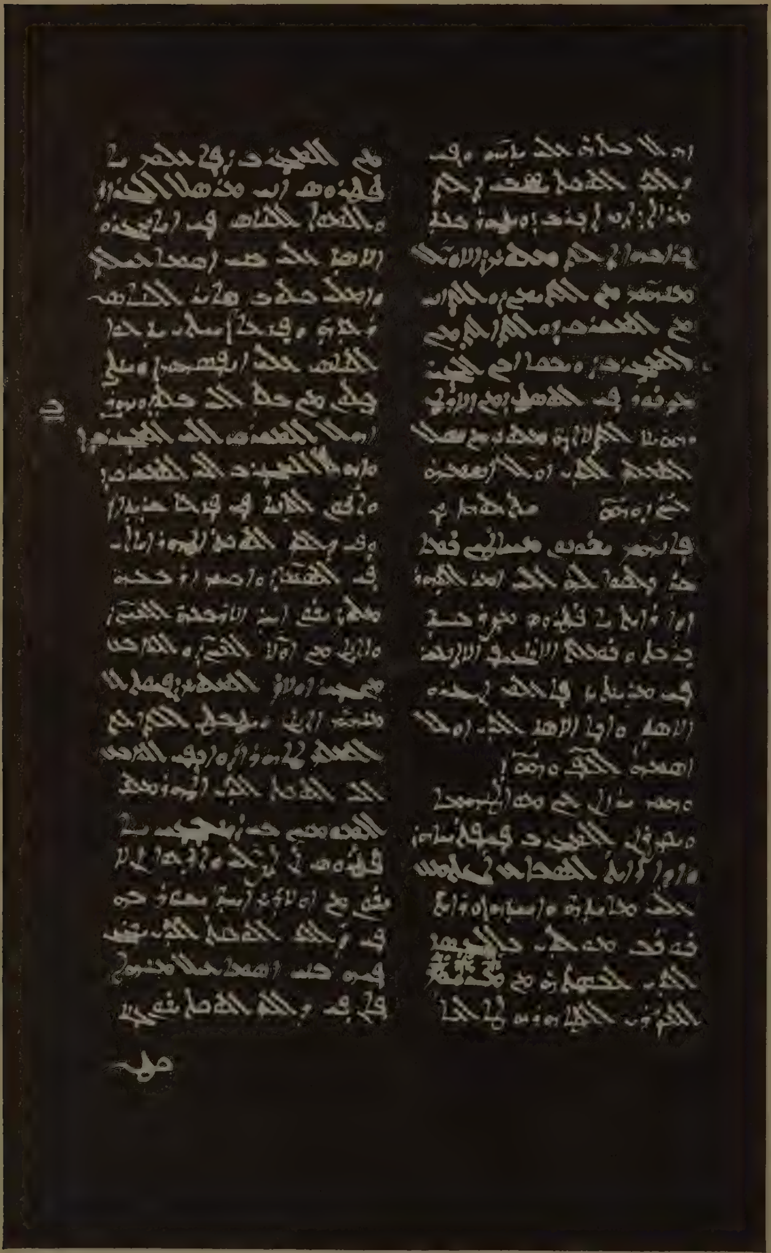

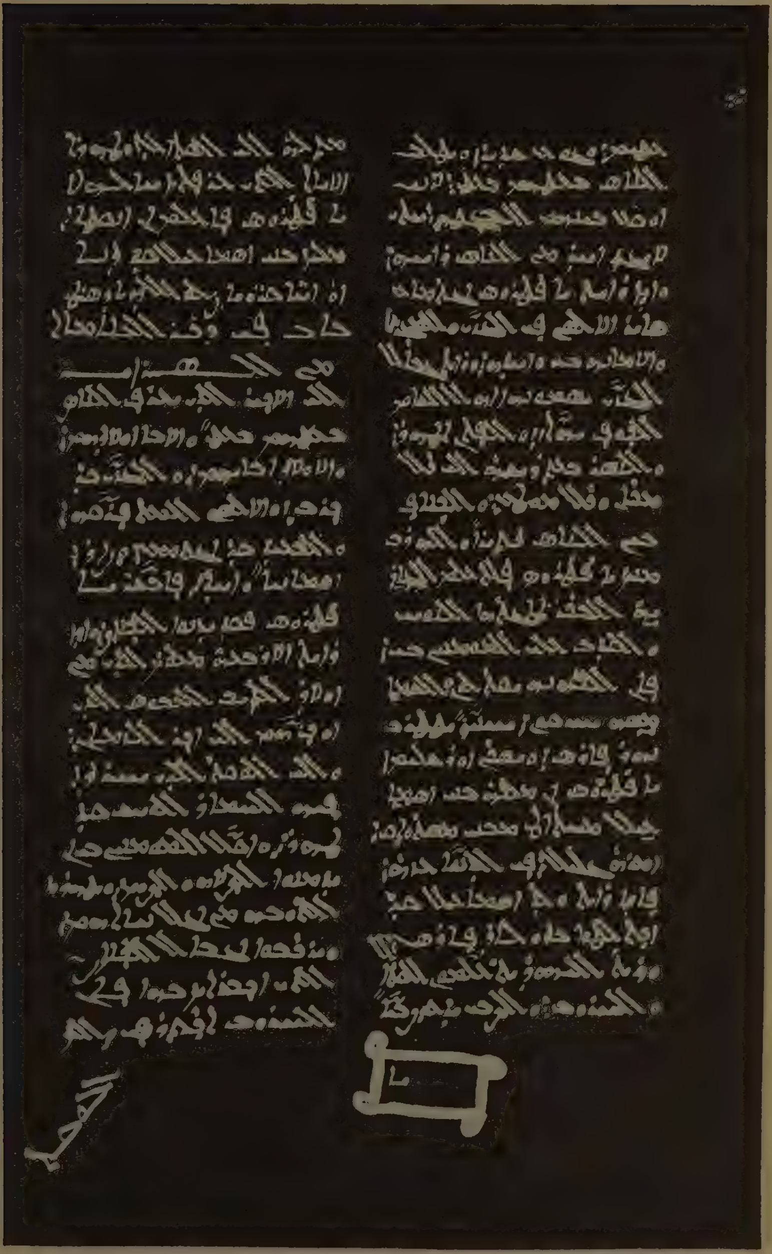

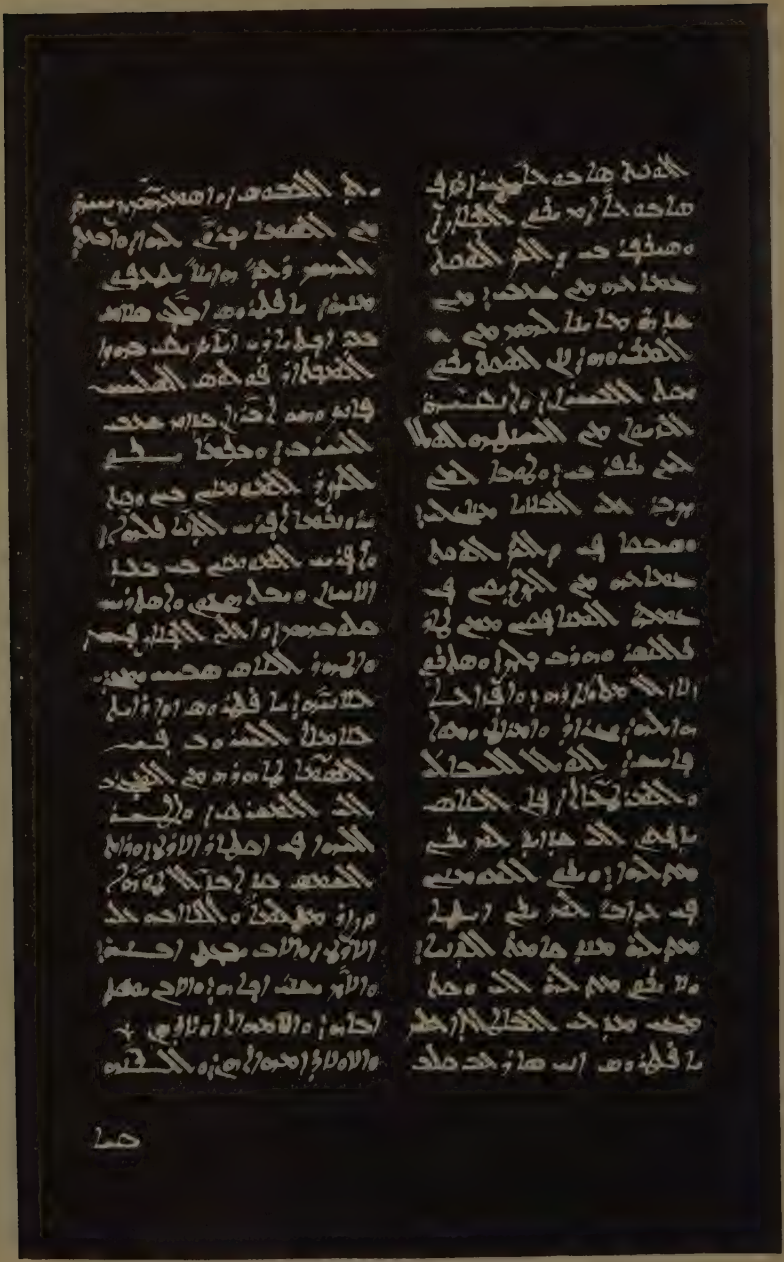

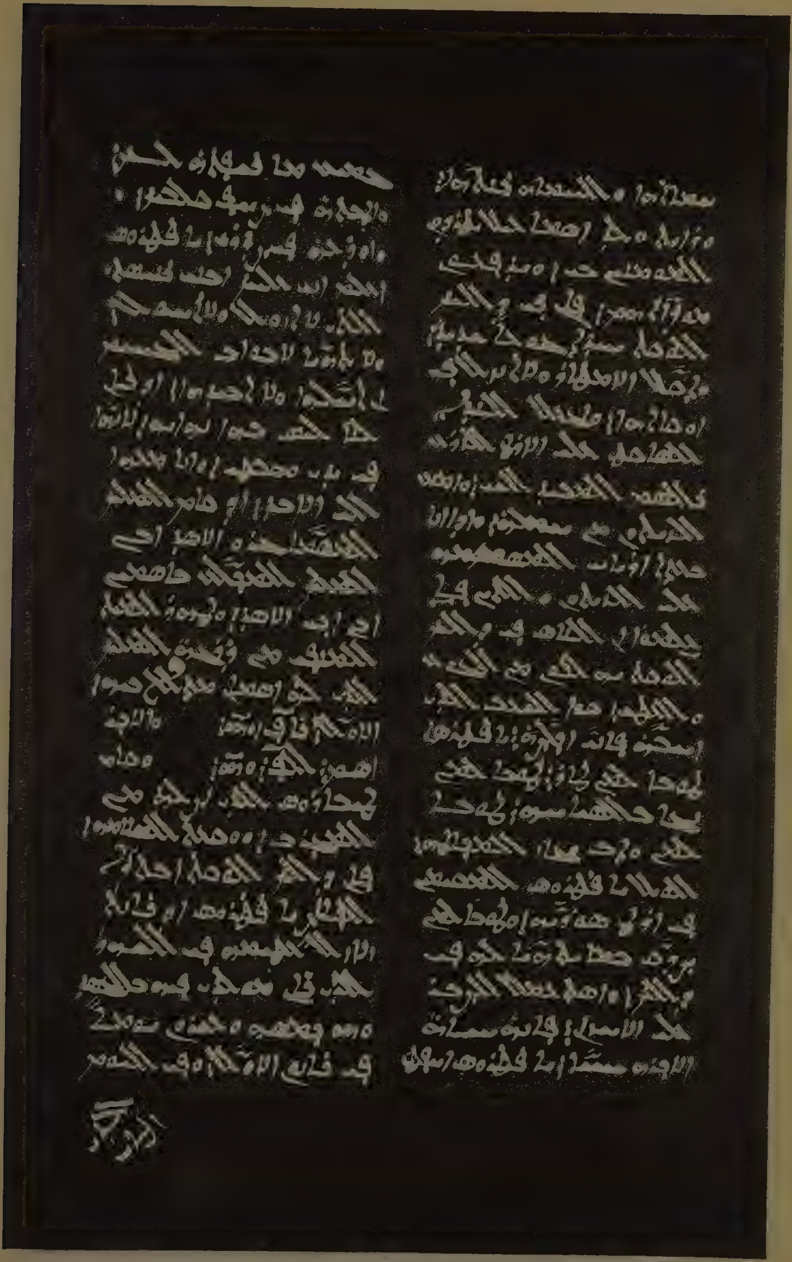

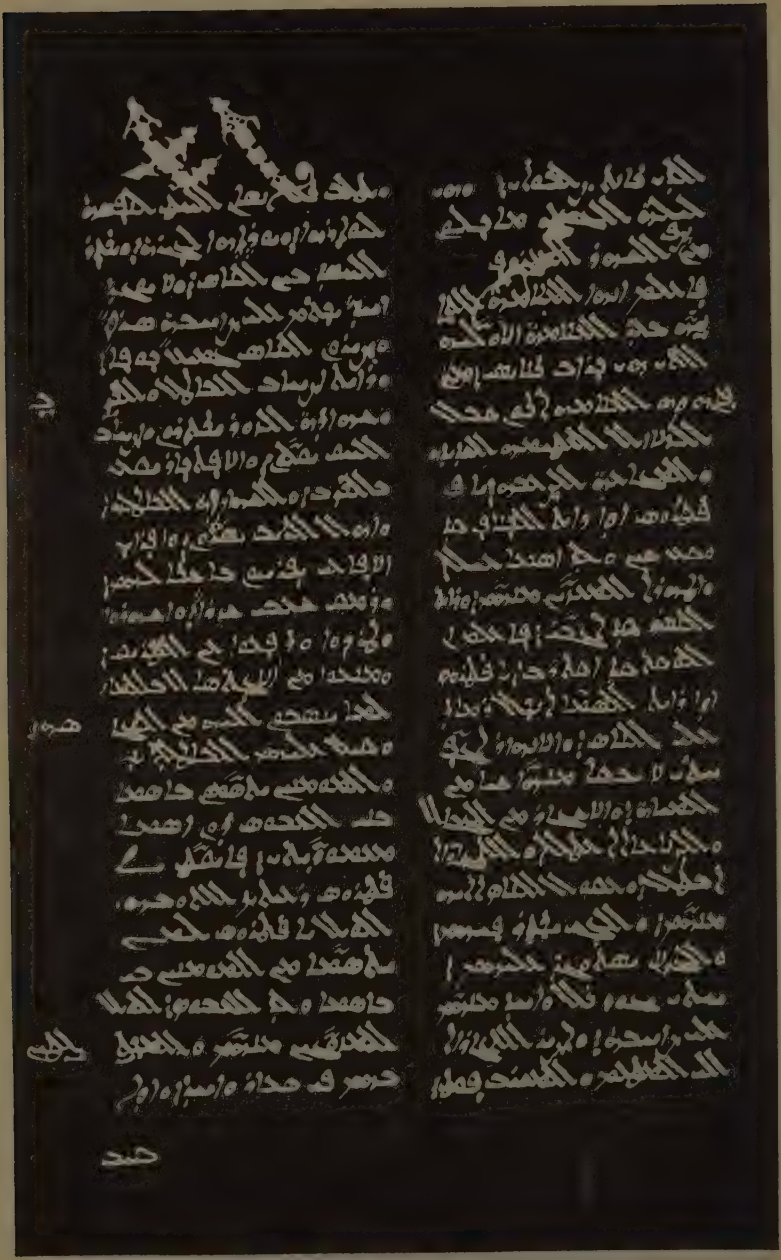

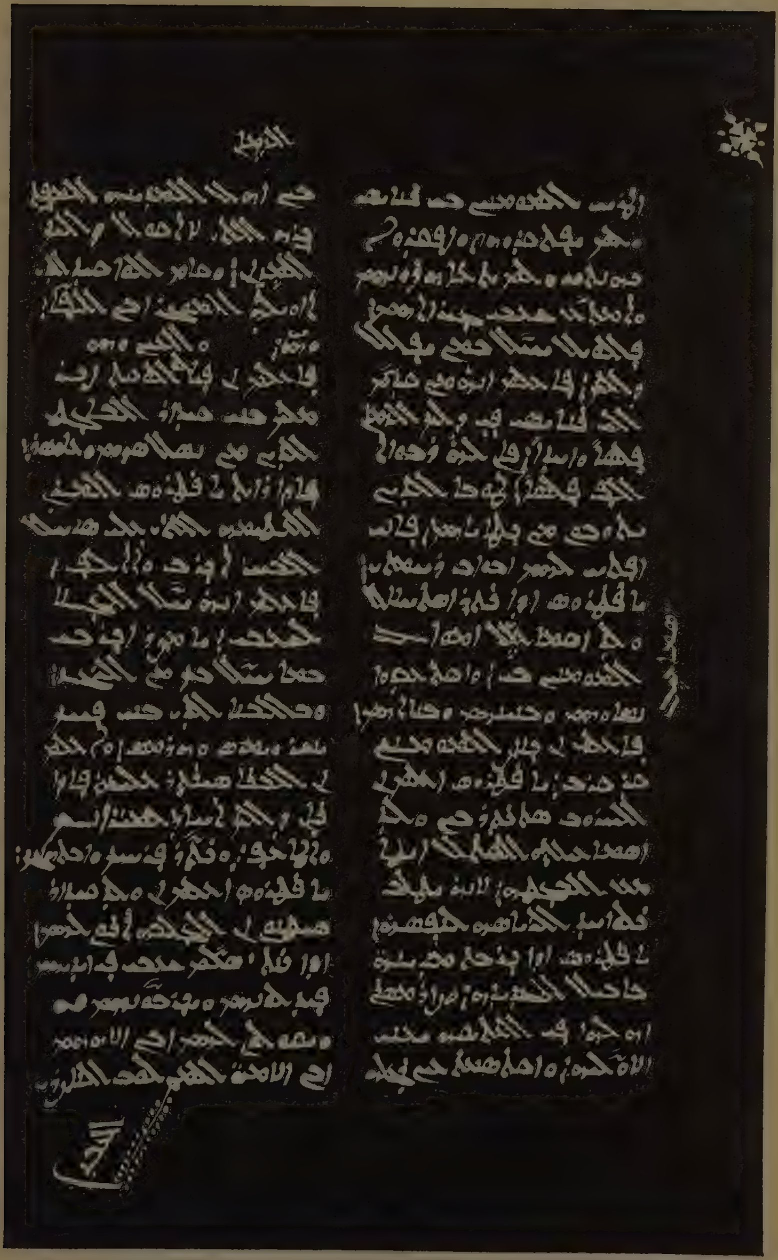

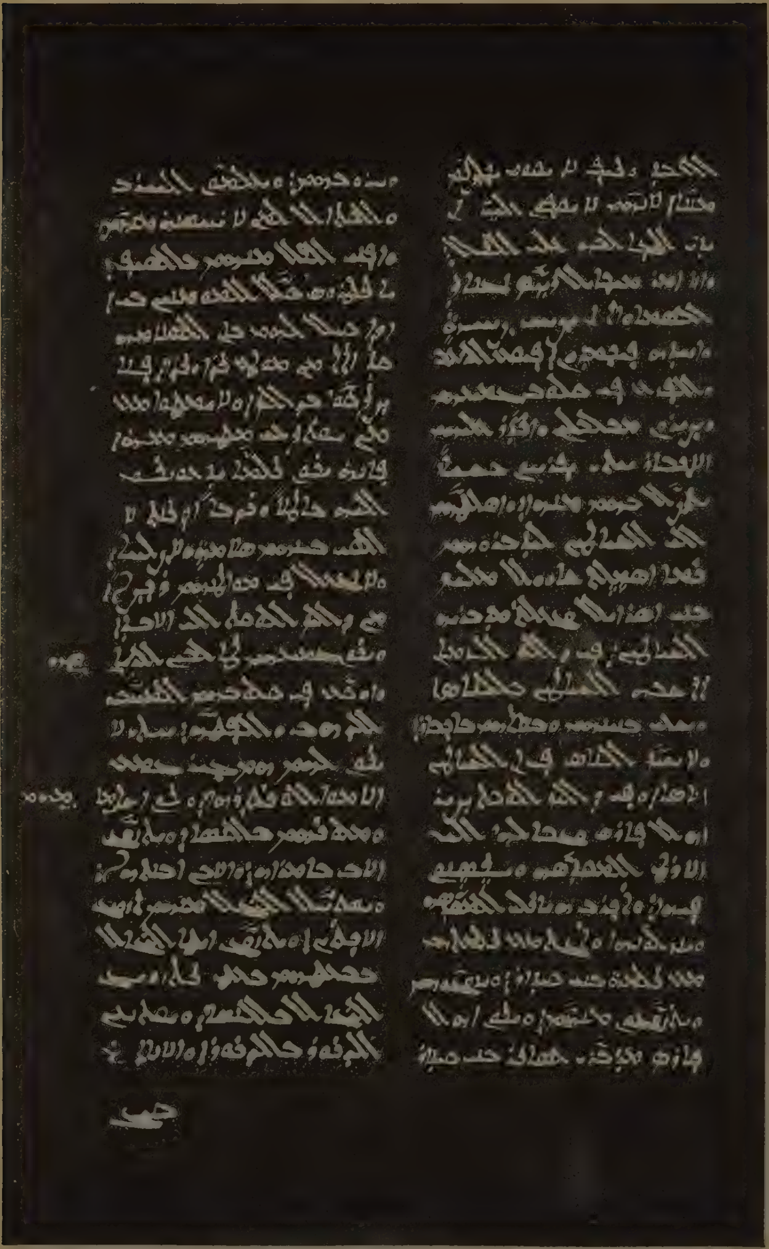

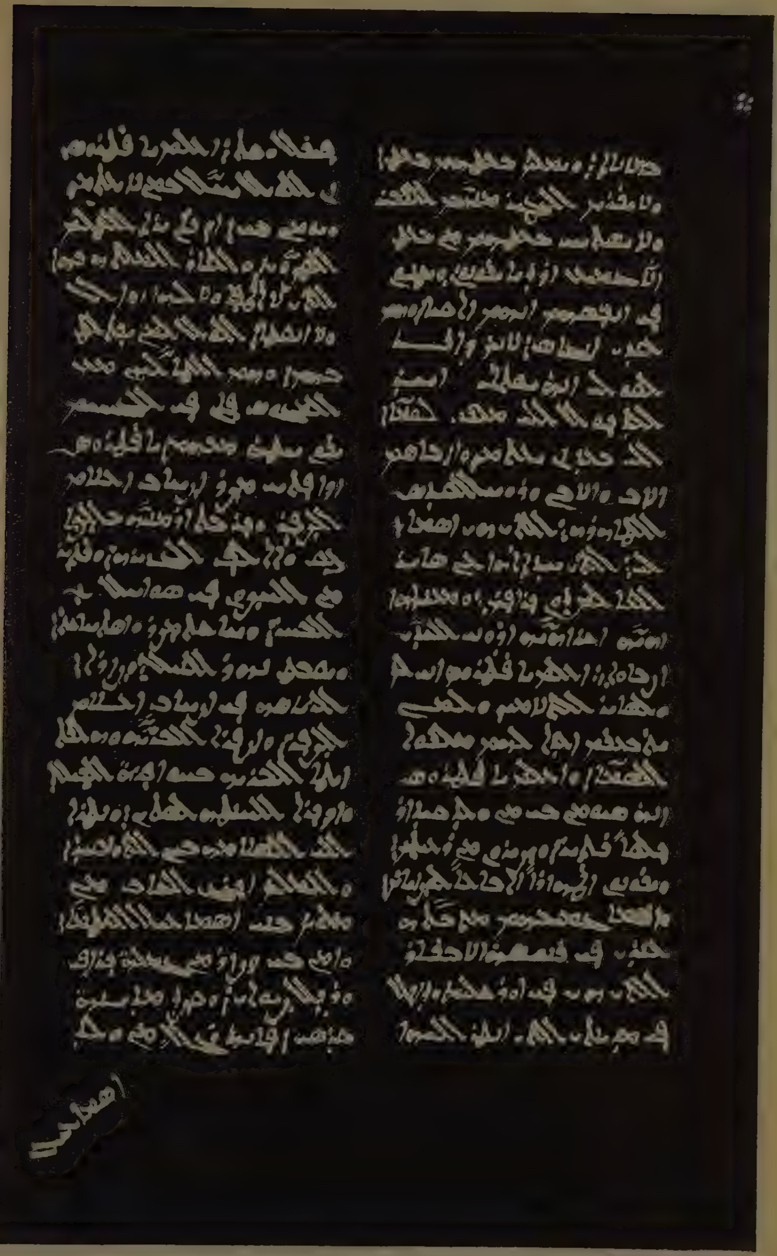

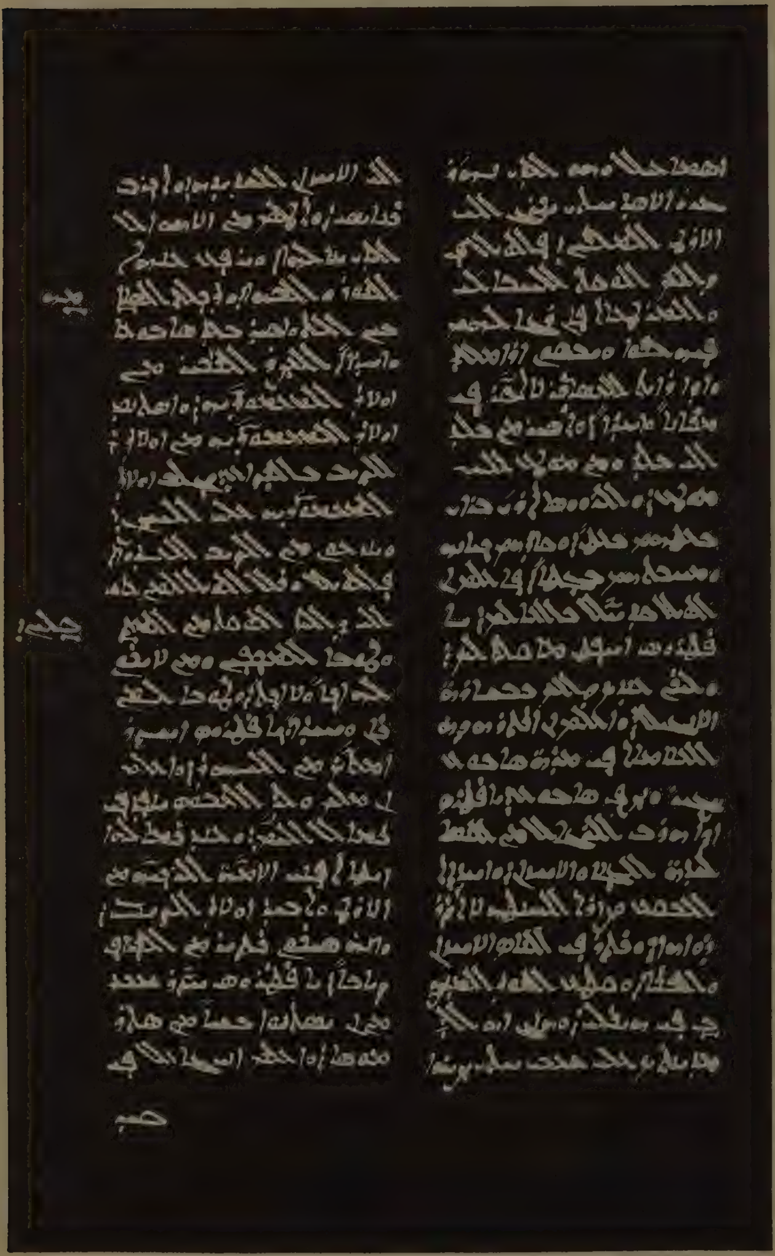

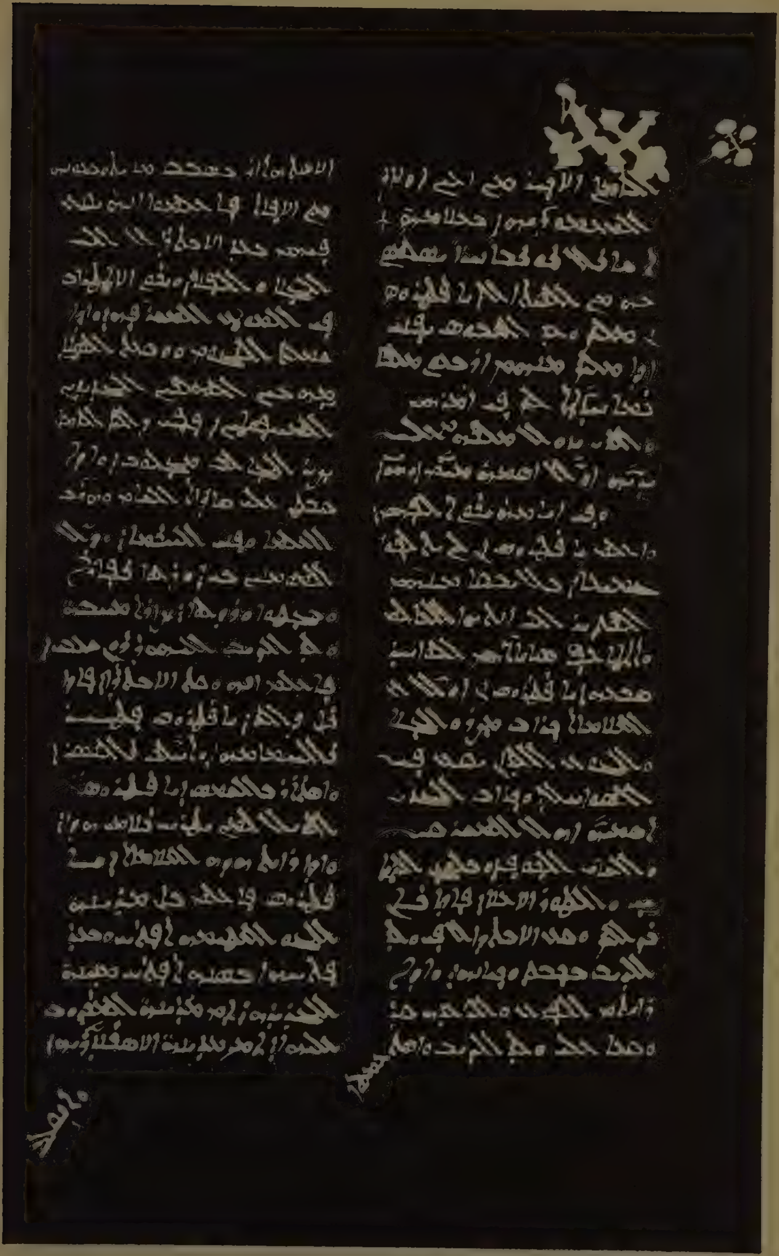

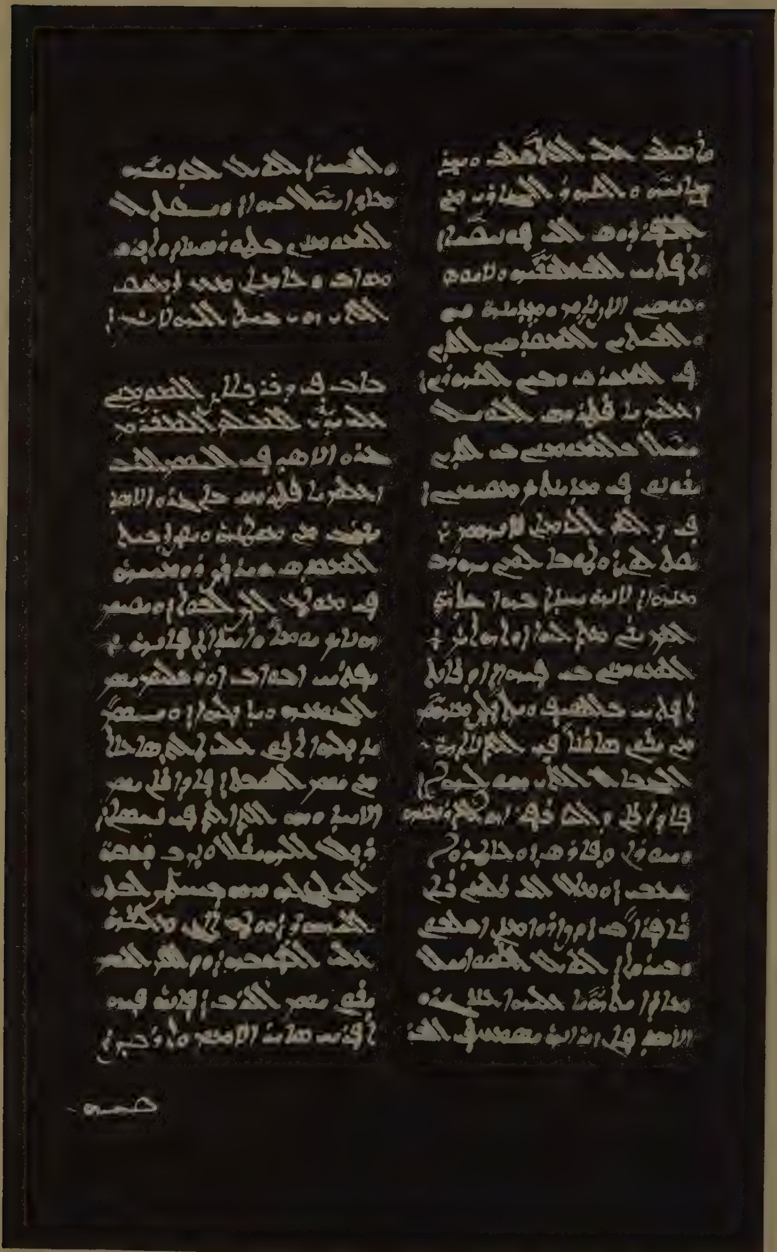

HAND-LIST OF THE COLLECTIONS OF FRENCH AND ITALIAN MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, 1930.

By MOSES TYSON, M.A., Ph.D.

KEEPER OF WESTERN MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

THE following hand-list indicates the extent and value of the French and Italian sections[1] of the collection of manuscripts in the John Rylands Library. Its object, as in the case of the preceding hand-lists of Latin[2] and English[3] manuscripts, is to facilitate the use of the manuscripts by scholars until the appearance of more detailed catalogues of Western manuscripts which it is hoped will eventually continue the series inaugurated by the first two volumes of the catalogue of Latin manuscripts compiled by Dr. M. R. James.[4] As, owing to the heavy cost of printing, it is probable that there will be considerable delay before the publication of the volume in which the manuscripts written in French and Italian are dealt with, it has been thought advisable to give more details in the present hand-list than was done in the others which have preceded it. Each manuscript is briefly described, evidence bearing upon its *provenance* is indicated, old numberings and foliations are noted, and in many cases the *incipit* is also given.

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[1] The section into which a manuscript is placed is determined only by the language in which it is written. The schools of Italy and France are, of course, represented by many fine manuscripts, some remarkable both as examples of art and calligraphy, in the collection of Latin manuscripts in the Library.

[2] Tyson, *Hand-list of additions to the collection of Latin manuscripts in the John Rylands Library, 1908-1928.*

[3] Tyson, *Hand-list of the collection of English manuscripts in the John Rylands Library, 1928.*

[4] James, *A descriptive catalogue of the Latin manuscripts in the John Rylands Library at Manchester.* 2 vols., 1921.

The collection is not large numerically, the French section requiring 118 numbers, and the Italian section only 61 numbers, but some of the works are of very considerable importance. The majority of the manuscripts[1] were formerly the property of the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres and formed part of the magnificent Crawford collection bought by Mrs. Rylands in 1901. A number have been given to the Library from time to time, others have been added by purchases made at sales and from booksellers. Fourteen of them were at one time in the possession of Sir Thomas Phillipps.[2]

FRENCH MANUSCRIPTS.

Among the French manuscripts a few are of additional interest on account of the illuminations, including a fine mid-thirteenth-century *Bible en images* (5); an early fourteenth-century *Lancelot del Lac* (1); a fourteenth-century *Passion de Nostre Seignéur Jésus Christ* (3) with miniatures executed *en grisaille*; the works of Guillaume de Deguilleville (2) with many illustrations in a very good French style; and an illustrated copy of the *Grandes Chroniques de France* (62). There are two fifteenth-century chronicle rolls[3] with miniatures (54, 99), and a seventeenth-century genealogical history of the house of Horn (13) with numerous coats of arms and large portraits of members of the family, carefully painted if of no great artistic merit. Other armorials are of French, English, Irish and Scottish nobility,—the armorial of the Counts and Countesses of Dreux and Braine (12) and the Stacey Grimaldi roll (88), giving the arms of many north of England families, being worthy of particular notice. Several manuscripts are of value to the genealogist.[4]

There is a fair amount of interesting historical material, including, in addition to the above-mentioned chronicles, *La Boucachardière* of Jean de Courcy (4); Monstrelet's Chronicles (55); a valuable *Histoire*

[1] French MSS., Nos. 1*, 1-51, 88, 103-106, 110-117; Italian MSS., 1-19, 21-43, 45-47, 58, 59. French MSS., No. 110-117, were among the very extensive and valuable Crawford collection of French Revolutionary literature acquired for the Library from B. Quaritch in 1925.

[2] French MSS., Nos. 54-61, 71, 102; Italian MSS., Nos. 20, 51, 54, 61.

[3] There is an article upon three similar rolls by Camus in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, etc. V (1798), pp. 147-154.

[4] See Index, under *Noble families*.

des Ducs de Normandie et Roys d'Angleterre (56); a late thirteenth-century MS. of *Le livere de reis de Engleterre* (64); and a copy of the chronicle of Noel de Fribois (57). A large collection of letters,[1] mostly unpublished, of Marie le Bailleul, marquise d'Huxelles, is extremely important for the intimate light they throw upon the political and social history of the France of Louis XIV. Of Madame d'Huxelles Saint-Simon writes "C'étoit une femme de beaucoup d'esprit, qui avoit eu de la beauté et de la galanterie, qui savoit, et qui avoit été du grand monde toute sa vie, mais point de la cour. Elle étoit impérieuse, et s'étoit acquis un droit d'autorité. Des gens d'esprit et de lettres et des vieillards de l'ancienne cour s'assembloient chez elle, où elle soutenoit une sorte de tribunal fort décisif."[2]

Another important series of news-letters or *gazettes manuscrites*[3] covers the years 1775 to 1793. The majority of these letters were sent from Paris to Rennes to René le Prestre de Châteaugiron,[4] a member of a leading Breton family. René le Prestre did not emigrate during the Revolution and in 1790 letters were addressed to him as "commandant de la garde nationale de Lavaux, département de la Loire Inférieure." A volume (110) containing twenty-nine large documents—original records of payments made in 1793 to members of the *Comité Révolutionnaire des Sections de Paris*, with the members own signatures—is also among the manuscripts relating to the history of the French Revolution.

Some early accounts of the French Royal Artillery (71), fifteenth-century *coutumiers* of Brittany (58, 74), and Normandy (73), and an early copy of the legal treatise known as *Britton* (75) are the most noteworthy of the remaining historical materials.

Works of literary interest, other than those already mentioned, include the *Roman de la Rose* (66), the *Dits des philosophes* of Guillaume de Thignonville (65), Simon de Hesdin's French version of the first five books of Valerius Maximus (63), and a number of volumes containing miscellaneous pieces of prose and verse of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

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[1] French MSS., Nos. 89-96. Dr. Fawtier has given an appreciative description of this collection, see reference.

[2] *Mémoires de Saint-Simon* (ed. Boislisle), XXIII (1911), pp. 45-46.

[3] French MSS., 42-51.

[4] René-Joseph Le Prestre de Châteaugiron (1753-1802) was the son of René-Jacques Le Prestre (1720-1792) and a nephew of Auguste-Felicité Le Prestre (1728-1782), "avocat-général au Parlement de Bretagne." The son of René-Joseph was a well-known diplomatist, René-Charles-Hippolyte Le Prestre, marquis de Châteaugiron (1774-1848), whose sister Agathe-Charlotte was the fiancée of General Marceau.

There is also a very mixed collection, including a thirteenth-century manuscript of lives of saints (6), the *Régime de Santé* of Aldobrandino da Siena (7), and lastly the 1546 Mappemonde of Pierre Descelliers (1*), undoubtedly in the eyes of a student of cartography one of the chief treasures of the Library.

ITALIAN MANUSCRIPTS.

Italian MS. No. 1 is a precious codex of the *canzonieri* of Dante and Petrarch[1] written in the second half of the fourteenth century for Lorenzo, son of Carlo degli Strozzi, who belonged to one of the chief noble families of Florence. Carlo degli Strozzi was ambassador at Genoa as early as the year 1348, and must have been fairly advanced in years at the time of his death in 1383,[2] so that our manuscript was either actually written during the lifetime of Petrarch himself or at the latest not long after the poet's death.

There are four manuscripts of Dante's *Divina Commedia*,[3] of which the most outstanding was written by a certain Bartholomew Landi de Landis from Prato in Tuscany, who finished his task in 1416. Another fifteenth-century example (2) is of very considerable interest.[4]

A feature of the Italian collection in the Library is the group of manuscripts relating to the great Florentine reformer Fra Girolamo Savonarola. Villari in his biography of Savonarola draws upon the *Apologia*, or *Giornate*, of Lorenzo Violi,[5] of which, he says, he had had the good fortune to bring to light the manuscript[6] long thought to be lost. Violi was a contemporary of the Friar and set down in this book everything that he saw or heard bearing upon Savonarola's life. The Library possesses three manuscripts of this important work (7, 8, 9), the earliest of which is particularly valuable for the many textual alterations and amendments, and has been supposed to be Violi's own copy. Two other manuscripts, at least, are associated with the Violi family (8, 10). There is a manuscript of the life of Savonarola attributed to Fra Pacifico Burlamacchi[1] of Lucca (13). This same volume also contains a large mass of material of value to the student of Savonarola,[2] copies of letters and writings by, or relating to, the Friar and his followers. Several other manuscripts may be noted as belonging to this same group.[3]

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[1] See also Italian MS. No. 49.

[2] P. Litta, *Famiglie celebri italiane*, fasc. XLIV, tavola III.

[3] Italian MSS., Nos. 2, 48-50.

[4] For Dante's works see also Italian MSS., Nos. 56, 57.

[5] Pasquale Villari, *La storia di Girolamo Savonarola e de' suoi tempi* (Firenze, 1887-88), I, pp. xxxiv-v. Several sections of the *Giornate* are printed by Villari (*ibid.*, I, pp. lviii-lxii, II, pp. lxxi-lxxxiii, cviii-cxxxi).

[6] *Bibl. Nazionale MS. dei Conventi*, I x, 32.

A fifteenth-century manuscript of the *Scala del Paradiso* of S. John Climacus (4) has a number of interesting illuminated initials and borders, and a few other volumes are enriched with miniatures, illuminated initials and decorative borders (1, 40, 50). A large modern copy of the *Divina Commedia* (50) with numerous miniatures is a good example of a twentieth-century illuminator's skill.

There is a noteworthy late fourteenth-century copy of the *Fioretti* of S. Francis and of the Legend of S. Clare (51), and a fifteenth-century *Somma sopra e sette peccati mortali* of S. Antoninus, archbishop of Florence (53).

The manuscripts of historical interest are usually concerned with particular cities,[4] individuals or families.[5] A few deal with the officials of Florence (14, 23, 24), Venice (5, 60), Bologna (40) and other cities. The Medici[6] (20, 24, 26, etc.), Strozzi (24), and Orsini

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[1] Pacifico Burlamacchi, *Vita del P. F. Girolamo Savonarola* (nuova edizione, Lucca, 1764). As is the case in a number of other MSS. the note attributing the work to Burlamacchi is added somewhat later in our MS. This MS. varies considerably from the printed text.

[2] There are 107 miracles (No. 106 is dated 1570) and 27 punishments, inflicted by God on the friar's persecutors, recorded.

[3] Italian MSS., Nos. 10, 11, 30, 54, 59.

[4] See Index under Naples, Florence, Milan, Rome, etc.

[5] Similar collections of *Racconti e documenti varii* to Italian MSS. Nos. 16, 18, 21 and 27, sometimes with some of the contents identical, are not uncommon.

[6] For documents relating to this family see Fawtier, *Hand-list of charters, deeds, and similar documents in the John Rylands Library*, I. (1925), pp. 27-42.

(24, 32, 36) are prominent among the families for the history of which there are materials.

A number of armorials,[1] a copy of the *Istorie antiche* of Guido da Pisa (3), dated 1411, and a 1567 coastal map (42) are among the remaining manuscripts.

In the following list the first number is that of the present classification and should be cited when a manuscript is required. The number [R. . . .] is the general Library accession number.

In citing headings or passages from the manuscripts the originals are closely followed in the matter of spelling and of omissions of accents, but words are given in full where the scribes have used the usual signs of abbreviation.

FRENCH MANUSCRIPTS.

1*. (Crawford 15.) MAPPEMONDE. **Pierre Desceliers. Mappemonde de 1546.**

⁂ A large map measuring 2 m. 60 × 1 m. 30. In the top left-hand corner is the following inscription, now partly obliterated: *Faictes a Arques [par Pierre Desceliers presb^{re}] 1546.* Formerly in the possession of M. E. F. Jomard, Conservateur du Cabinet des Collections Géographiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, who described it as "*Mappemonde peinte sur parchemin par ordre de Henri II, Roi de France.*" A *facsimile* is given in C. H. Coote's *Autotype facsimiles of three Mappemondes* (Bibliotheca Lindesiana, Collations and Notes, no. 4, 1898).

1. (Crawford 1-2.) LANCELOT DU LAC. **(f. 1.)** (*begins*) **mendiroie quant moi plairoit et ma volentes est tele que iou men voel aler ia au vespre. Car bien sachies que . . . (f. 81^{v}) Chi endroit parole une damoisiele au roy claudas et son naim deuant lui et li roys li enquiert de lancelot** (*rubric*). **(f. 82) Or dist li contes que quant la damoisiele se fu partie de camaalod. . . . (f. 181^{v}) . . . esmerueillier. Mais a tant fenist chi endroit maistre gautiers map son liure de lancelot del lac, si commence a parler du saint graal. (f. 182) ke on fait par laiens de bohort et de lyonel. Car grant pierche auoit quil ne les auoient veu. Et li rois . . . (f. 211^{v}) . . . et la merueille du graal et le pooir que diex i ot mis e chil ert desloiaus et crueus comme chil ki tous ert estrais de maluaise lig-** (*ends*). **(f. 212) Chi commenche li liures des mors artus, Gauain et tous les autres**

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[1] Italian MSS., Nos. 5, 17, 22, 28, 29, 31, 40.

compaignons de la taule reonde et toute la fins. Apres che que maistres gautiers map ot traitie des auentures del saint graal asses souffissaument si comme il fu auis au roi henri son signour ke che quil auoit fait nen deuoit pas souffrir sil ne racontoit la fin de chiaus dont il auoit deuant fait mention comment chil moururent de qui il auoit les proeches ramenteues en son liure et par che commencha il cheste darrainne partie et quant il lot mise emsamble si lapiela la mort al roi artu . . . (f. 257^{v}) . . . Sour le cors il sorent tantost que chestoit aucune haute persone (*ends*).

Vell. ff. 129 + iv (paper), Vol I; 128 + iv (paper), Vol. II. 398 × 282 mm. circ. 1300.

⁂ *Le livre de Lancelot,* pt. ii (ff. 1-181^{v}), *Les aventures del saint graal* (ff. 182-211^{v}), and *La mort al roi artus* (ff. 212-257^{v}); all have a number of leaves missing. On the backstrip of each volume is the title *Histoire du Roi Artus.* The MS. contains 74 miniatures in gold and colours, in a very good style, evidently of French origin and affording useful information relating to costume and armour. ff. 82 and 212 are finely ornamented with foliage and grotesque human and animal figures. There are many illuminated letters. The division into two volumes is purely artificial. Former owner: Bibliotheca Sunderlandiana (1881), Sale No. 670.

2. (Crawford 4.) DEGUILLEVILLE, GUILLAUME DE. [Oeuvres.] **I. (f. 1) Cy commence Le Rommant du pelerinaige du corps humain. A ceulx de ceste Region. . . . (f. 1 col. b) Auis mestoit si com dormoye . . . (f. 45^{v}) . . . Da point compter si com je scay. Cy fenist le premier liure du pelerinaige du corps humain. Et cy apres commence le II^{e} liure du dit pelerinaige. Apres ce que jay dit deuant . . . (f. 91) . . . Et onc puis a moy ne parla. Cy fenist le II^{e} liure du pelerinaige du corps humain. Cy apres commence le tiers liure dudit pelerinaige. Auant alay oultre le bos . . . (f. 101) . . . Que doint dieu aux mors et aux vifs. Amen. Cy fenist le pelerinaige du corps humain. II. (f. 101) Cy commence le liure du pelerinaige de lame. Apres que je fu esueillez . . . (f. 173^{v}) . . . Le pry et a ceulx qui lorront. Cy fenist Le liure du pelerinaige de lame. III. (f. 175) Cy commence le liure du pelerinaige Jhesucrist. Entre plusieurs paraboles . . . (f. 247^{v}) . . . Et que prient pour moy leur pry. Cy fenist Le liure du pelerinaige de Jhesucrist. IV. (f. 247^{v}) Loroison de cellui qui fist le dit pelerinaige touchant**

la matiere dicellui. Doubz Jhesus filz de dieu le pere. . . . (f. 249) . . . Ou nous puissons auoir notre estre. Amen.

Vell. ff. 249 + iii. 323 × 250 mm. Early xvth cent. xvith cent. French binding, wooden boards covered with stamped dark brown leather.

⁂ On f. 249, in a different hand, is the following note: *Dame marguerite chenbellain vesue de feu notable personne estiene bourcier a donne sestui liure du pelerin a seur marguerite gandrem sa niepce et filleule et au couent dauxonne ou quel la dite seur marguerite a estee resseue et la donne sur telle condicion que lon ne le puisse james transpourter hors du couent se non que la dite seur marguerite gandrem fut transpourtee en ung autre couent comment lon transpourte aucune fois lez religieuzes es conuens de leur ordres mes elle veut que apres le trepas de la dite seur marguerite gandrem se dit liure soit rapourter ou couent de madame sainte clere situe en la ville dauxonne et de seste donnasion est tesmoint leur beau pere confesseur nonne frere jehain gautier et jehain chaine notaire apostolique lequel demeure en la dite ville dauxonne et dame marie varnyere niepce de la dite dame marguerite fille de sa propre seur germaine nommee jehanne chanbellain a la requeste de laquelle marie ella donne se liure a sa fille seur marguerite gandrem et au dit couent de madame sainte clere situe en la ville dauxonne.* The MS. has a number of finely ornamented letters, and no fewer than 176 coloured miniatures. The decoration throughout is very good French work of the period, and shows the influence of the Burgundian artists.

3. (Crawford 5.) PASSION DE NOSTRE SEIGNEUR JÉSUS CHRIST (*en figures*). PRIÈRES À LA VIERGE. (f. 2v) [Baudouin de Condé] **Aue en qui sans nul nombre a . . . (f. 7) [Les ix joies de Notre-Dame.] Royne de pitie Marie . . . (f. 16v) E tres douce dame sainte Marie mere vierge sans corruption . . . (f. 25) Ceste oroison puet auoir nom le santier nostre dame car il y a cent et cinquante ioys, aue Maria. Un vers ou deuot cuer. . . . (f. 25v) Aue douce mere dieu . . . (f. 36v) Oroison a nostre dame. Aue dame ie vous pri . . . (f. 36v) Antiene a nostre dame. Aue regina celorum . . . (f. 36v) Cy dessous est escrit le psaltier saint iherome abregie comme langre de paradis li ensaigna. Et fu ainsi abregie pour ceulz qui maintienent la vie active . . . (f. 43v) Cy sensuit tres deuote oroison a dieu. Sire plaise toy . . . (f. 45) Autre oroison a dieu. Ayez mercy . . . (f. 45v) Oroison a dieu. Tres doulx dieu. . . (f. 46) Oroison deuote a ihesu crist. Souuerain Roy . . . (f. 46) Autre oroison a dieu. O deliureur . . . (f. 46v) Ceste oroison est prier pour ceulz qui mal nous font et la doit on dire chascun iour deuotement. Sauueur ihesucrist tres**

debonaire . . . (f. 46^{v}) De la briete et de la misere de ceste vie. Sire espargne . . . (f. 47^{v}) Oroison de nostre dame. Dame tours iours . . . (f. 48) Oroison de nostre dame. Sainte marie mere . . . (f. 48) Le pape Innocent fist et conferma ceste oroison en lonneur de dieu et de la benoite vierge marie, et a donne et otroie ii^{c} et xl iours de vrai pardon a tous ceulz qui deuotement la diront chascun iour au sacrement de la messe. Je te deprie . . . (f. 48^{v}) Sainte marie mere de dieu tres debonnaire. . . . (f. 50^{v}) Autre oroison a nostre dame. Tres sainte et tres honnouree . . . (f. 51^{v}) Tres deuote oroison de nostre dame. Tres doulce dame. . . .

Vell. ff. 53 + iv (paper). 237 × 164 mm. Late xivth cent.

⁂ ff. 1-25 have each a miniature (circ. 115 × 105 mm., except that on f. 1 which is 167 × 114 mm.) of a New Testament scene. The miniatures are executed *en grisaille*, sometimes enriched with colours, gold being used for the aureoles and certain vessels. f. 37^{v}. Another similar miniature (110 × 60 mm.). The above texts contain many variants. Former owners: Henry Perkins, Esq. (1873), Sale No. 581; William Bragge, Esq. (1876), Sale No. 303.

4. (Crawford 11.) COURCY, JEAN DE. [La Boucachardière.] (f. 2) En nom du benoist pere du glorieux filz et du sainct esperit, trois parsonnes en une substance. Moy jehan de courcy, cheualier normant . . . (f. 2^{v}) [Table des chapitres.] (f. 7^{v}) Du prologue de ce premier liure qui parlera du fait des gregois e de plusieurs hystoires de poeterie. Pour mon principe . . . (f. 115) Le prologue du ii^{e} liure ou quel il traicte de la cite de troye. Comme elle fut faicte. Et de la destruction dicelle. (f. 179^{v}) Le prologue du iii^{e} liure qui parlera comme les troyens peuplerent terres et conquirent de mont grandes seignouries. (f. 235) [Livre IV]. Apres ce que des troyens auons deuant parle et comme leur cite fut jadis destruicte mesmement comme de la lignie qui de eulx yssi furent apres plussieurs Regnes peuples me conuient il des assiriens dire . . . (f. 306^{v}) Le prologue du v^{e} liure qui fait mencion des macedoniens et du grand Roy Alexandre. (f. 395^{v}) Le prologue du vi^{e} liure qui parlera du Roy Anthiocus, de mathathyas judas machabeus et de plussieurs autres machabyeulx.

Vell. ff. 445. 426 × 295 mm. Mid. xvth cent. Late xvth cent. binding.

⁂ There are various references in the text to the date of the compilation of the work, as (f. 2) *En lan de la benoiste Incarnation mil quatre cens*

et xvi et depuis celuy temps me suis entendu a traictier ces matieres . . . and (f. 2^{v}) . . . *et le vi^{me} si fera mention de mathathias et des macabieux comme ilz combatirent pour la loy de dieu et y aura v histoires et quarante deux chapitres. En lan de grace mil cccc vingt et deux, le xx^{e} jour du moys de juing fut parfait ce liure et acheue en la ville de caudebec sur seine par lacteur nomme courcy. Celuy qui composa ce liure trespassa a caudebec le penultime jour doctobre en lan mil cccc trente ung et est enterre au cueur de leglise du boucachard.* Numerous ornamented letters and a number of decorated margins. In the margin of f. 179^{v} are the arms of the De Laurencin family of Lyons and the name *Marguerite de Laurencin.* f. 215^{v}. *Mouseler de corsenn* written in pencil. Former owner: Howell Wills, Esq. (1894), Sale No. 551. On this work see Lucien Lécureux, *Étude sur la Bouquechardière de Jean de Courcy* (École Nationale des Chartes, Positions de Thèses, 1909, pp. 79-86).

5. (Crawford 7.) BIBLE HISTORIÉE.

Vell. ff. 48 + xxxviii (paper). 186 × 149 mm. Circ. 1250.

⁂ 48 full-page paintings on a background of burnished gold, representing scenes from the Book of Genesis. There are descriptions, in French, above and below the miniatures. It is interleaved with pre-1600 paper, with the mark of Wendolin Riehel, Strasbourg. This MS. was edited and reproduced by Dr. Robert Fawtier, *La Bible Historiée toute figurée de la John Rylands Library* (Bulletin de la Société Française de Reproductions de Manuscrits à Peintures, VII., 1923, pp. 34-87, and plates); see also the John Rylands Library publications.

6. (Crawford 6.) VIES DE SAINZ. (f. 3.) [Maurice de Sully, Explication du Pater]. . . . nest pas fiz deu mes fiz al deable. . . . (ff. 3^{v}, 4, 5) [Adam de Ross.] Ci comence la visiun de saint pol le barun. Seignurs freres ore escotez. . . . (ff. 5, 2) [Vie de Saint Jean Baptiste (*in prose*)]. De sain iohan baptiste. Al tens herode rei de judee . . . (ff. 2^{v}, 1) [Passion de Saint Paul (*in prose*)]. De sain pol lapostle. Apres la passiun sein pere, cunterum de la passiun sein pol . . . (ff. 1^{v}, 6-8) [Li ver del Juise.] Ces vers qui ci sunt del iur de iuise sunt. bel frere ore les lis si te menbre del juis. Seignurs oez raisun . . . (f. 8) [Vie de Sainte Marie l'Égyptienne.] De sainte Marie legyptien Dirrum ore lestorie bien. Oez seignurs une raisun . . . (*incomplete*). (ff. 9, 10) [Vie de Sainte Catherine d'Alexandrie.] Assez ai desire que volsisse estre . . . (f. 10) [La Vie de Saint Alexis.] Si vos dirrai dun produme ki lung tens esteit en rome. Bons fu li secles el tens ancienur . . . (*imperfect, lines 1-173 only*). (ff. 11, 12) [Henri d'Arci, Poème sur

l'Antéchrist.] Qui de antecrist uolez oir . . . (f. 12^{v}) [Les quinze signes.] [U]n clerc del tens antif . . .

Vell. ff. 12 + xxvi (blank modern paper). 276 × 190 mm. (ff. 9-12 cut down). Late xiiith and early xivth cent.

⁂ Bound out of order. The MS. is described, and the last three items fully printed, by R. Fawtier and E. C. Fawtier-Jones in *Notice du manuscrit French 6 de la John Rylands Library, Manchester* (Romania, xlix (1923), pp. 321-342).

7. (Crawford 13.) RÉGIME DE SANTÉ. **(f. 1) Cy commence le regime de sante fait pour entretenir lomme en bonne disposicion. Dieu qui par sa grant puissance tout le monde crea . . .**

Vell. ff. 94 + i. 255 × 180 mm. xvth cent. Bound in green velvet.

⁂ On f. 1 is a miniature showing the presentation of a volume, and a border of flowers and foliage with *ung escu de noir a iij piegnes d argent* (arms of the Tunstall family). Former owners: (f. 1) *Gilbert North; William Bury* (inside front cover); *Howell Wills Sale, London, 1894.* This MS. is a translation of the treatise attributed to Aldobrandino da Siena, sometimes to Richard de Fournival. Many variants. Compare the text of Drs. Louis Landouzy and Roger Pepin, *Le régime du corps de maître Aldebrandin de Siene, texte français de xiii*^{e} *siècle . . .* (Paris, 1911).

8-9. (Crawford 21-22.) ALCHEMICA ET MEDICA.

Vell. ff. (I) 142 + ii, (II) 143 + ii. 239 × 162 mm. xviiith cent.

⁂ A collection of various extracts or translations of alchemical and medical works, including some complete treatises, and a number of important chemical and medical receipts. They are taken from the works of Pierre Vicot, Arnault de Villeneuve, Lambspringk, Nicolas Flamel, M. Sendivogius (le Cosmopolite), R. G. Ripley, Paracelsus, Bazil Valentin, Nicolas Delognes, Ramòn Lull, Roger Bacon, Christophe de Gamon, Isaac Hollandois, Père Castaigne, Jean Saulnier and others. Tables of contents on I, ff. 141-141^{v}, and II, ff. 143, 143^{v}. In Vol I the table is headed *Table de tout ce qui est contenu dans le Liure Spirituel pour la santé des corps et des ames.* The MSS. are written throughout in very minute hands.

10. (Crawford 26.) PROVENCE. **Critique du nobiliaire de Provence contenant: L'épurement de la noblesse du pays, la diference des gentils-hommes de sang, d'origine, de nom, et d'armes d'avec les nobles de Race, des annoblis, et de la noblesse de Robe, la diference sur les diverses especes de noblesse. Les nottes sur les familles eteintes dont d'autres ont pris le nom et les armes. Les observations sur les usurpateurs de la noblesse que l'auteur**

du Nobilaire a employés comme veritables gentils-hommes. Les moyens pour eviter les usurpateurs et les melanges dans la noblesse, et pour finir une fois pour toujours les recherches contre les veritables nobles. Le catalogue des gentils-hommes de sang, de nom, et d'armes et celuy des nobles de race; celuy des annoblis; celuy des nobles de Robe; celuy des familles eteintes; le tout par ordre alphabetique. Avec une Table Sommaire des matieres contenues dans cet ouvrage. L'abrége de l'histoire des Juifs en Provence, le catalogue des nouveaux chretiens de race judaique de ce pays, avec les observations pourquoy ils sont en si grande horreur.

Paper. ff. 124 + i. 339 × 231 mm. xviiith cent.

⁂ Evidently the criticism by Simon-Joseph de Barcillon, sieur de Mouvans, of the abbé Robert de Briançon's *L'État de la Provence, contenant ce qu'il y a de plus remarquable dans la police, dans la justice, dans l'Église et dans la noblesse de cette province. . . . Par M. l'abbé R.D.B.* (Paris, 1693). See below, MS. No. 29.

11. (Crawford 32.) PROVENCE. **Suite de la Critique du Nobiliaire de Provence. Marseille, 1778.**

Paper. ff. 110 (many blanks) + ii. 295 × 185 mm. xviiith cent.

12. (Crawford 27.) MATHIEU HERBELIN. **(f. 1) Les anciennes et modernes Genealogies, epitaphes et armoiries de tous les feuz Contes et Contesses de dreux et de braynne commencant a tres hault tres illustre et tres puissant Prince Loys le gros jadis Roy de France . . .**

Vell. ff. 32 + vi. 340 × 278 mm. xvith cent.

⁂ Several initial letters illuminated in gold and colours; 126 coats of arms emblazoned; and two other coats of arms.

f. 1. *A ma tres honnorée tres noble et tres redoubtée Dame Madame Guillemette de Sarrebruche mareschalle de France Contesse de Braynne, frere Mathieu herbelin thesaurier de Leglise sainct yued de braynne vostre tres humble et obeyssant Chappelain, Salut.* f. 30 . . . *Le vij jour dudict moys de febvrier que estoit le samedy m v^{c} xxxix Madame Francoise de breze, dame de Sedan et femme de mon dict Seigneur de Sedan accoucha d'un beau filz environ minuict qui eut nom Robert.* . . . ff. 30-32 contain additions made in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The MS. appears to have belonged in the seventeenth century to Robert le Roux, baron d'Acquigny, a descendant through his grandmother, Françoise de Prunelé, of the Dreux family. The MS. may have served as a "*livre de raison*" for the d'Esneval family, of which the last member mentioned (f. 32) is *Esprit Robert Marie le Roux d'Esneval, né le 21 May 1747, reçu Conseiller au Parlement de Rouen le 3 aoust 1767.* Other owners: C. L. Ducas; f. 1. *Fonds du Bibliophile Jacob, No. 1670 du Catalogue.*

13. **(Crawford 28.)** La Maison de Hornes. **(f. 1) Origine de la maison de Hornes Descendue de celle des Ducs de la Loraine inferieure, de Lothier et de Brabant par les anciens souuerains Comtes de Loz. (f. 4) Entre toutes les maisons les plus releuées et du premier rang dans le Pays bas. . . .**

Vell. and paper. ff. 234 + viii. 384 × 267 mm. xviith cent.

⁂ f. 12^{v}. *À très Illustre Haut et puissant Prince Monseigneur le Comte Ambrose de Hornes; est de Basigny: libre Baron de Boxtel: etc. Monseigneur:—Je presente à vostre Excellence une briefve deduction genealogique . . . estant, Monseigneur, de vostre Ex*^{ce} *le plus humble et tres obeissant de ces Seruiteurs: Christophre Butkens, Coadiuteur du Prioré de S*^{t} *Sauueur à enuers: anno 1630.* There are interfoliations containing additions to the end of the seventeenth century. On f. 229^{v} is a miniature described as *Guillaume Adrien, Comte de Hornes, Baron de Batenbourg, de Kessel, etc., Colonel et general d'artillerie au Service des Etats generaux, mort le 4 mars, 1694.* The MS. contains 116 full-page portraits painted on vellum, with the coats of arms properly emblazoned in metals and tinctures; 8 other portraits; a number of coloured drawings, and over 300 further coats of arms. f. 144 is a certified copy (Jan., 1685) of a charter of 15 April, 1465. Enclosed is a letter dated 1884, from M. van der Haeghen, librarian of the University of Ghent, concerning the Horne MSS.

14. **(Crawford 29.)** Normandie. **[Inventaire des Layettes, etc.]**

Paper. ff. 56 (numbered 233-288) + ii. 355 × 224 mm. Early xviiith cent.

⁂ On f. 1 is the following note in pencil: *Trésor des Chartes. Inventaire des Layettes, copies, sacs et registres qui sont au Trésor des Chartes du Roy à la Sainte Chapelle. Pièces concernant la Normandie. Bought at Sale of MSS. belonging to M. le Métayer-Masselin, Paris, Nov./67.* This MS. and MSS. 15-18 are copies of parts of the *Inventaire des Layettes du Trésor des Chartes* by Pierre Dupuy.

15. **(Crawford 44.)** Normandie. **[Inventaire des Layettes, etc.]**

Paper. ff. 89 (numbered 149-237) + ii. 344 × 225 mm. Early xviiith cent.

⁂ See MS. No. 14.

16. **(Crawford 45.)** Bretagne. **[Inventaire des Layettes, etc.]**

Paper. ff. 64 (numbered 302-365) + iii. 344 × 225 mm. Early xviiith cent.

⁂ See MS. No. 14.

17. **(Crawford 46.)** Bourgogne. **[Inventaire des Layettes, etc.]**

Paper. ff. 163 + ii. 344 × 225 mm. Early xviiith cent.

⁂ See MS. No. 14.

18. (Crawford 43.) CHAMPAGNE. **[Inventaire des Layettes, etc.]**

Paper. ff. 146 + ii. 344 × 225 mm. Early xviiith cent.

⁂ See MS. No. 14.

19. (Crawford 30.) BRETAGNE. **(ff. 1-239) Cathalogue des noms et armoiries de la noblesse de Bretagne, selon la reformacion faite aux années 1668, 1669, 1670 et 1671. (ff. 255-271^{v}) Table par alphabet des noms contenus au cathalogue . . . (ff. 276-393) Extraict du Compte des deniers provenant des Amendes ordonnées contre les usurpateurs de tittre de noblesse de la province de bretagne et des taxes sur les Annoblis, rendu par Noble homme Jacques Michau S^{r} de Montaran, Commis par Arrests du Conseil des troisième jour d'aoust xvi^{c} soixante huit et xxix Juillet xvi^{c} soixante neuf. . . .**

Paper. ff. 403 + iii. 338 × 230 mm. Late xviith cent.

⁂ Inside front cover is writtten *M. Legrand de la courais.* f. i. *De la bibliothèque du Château de Thoüars.* f. 1. *Tousé.*

20. (Crawford 31.) ROME. **Extrait du memoire fait en 1646 par le duc de Chaulnes, Ambassadeur à Rome sur les familles nobles de cette ville.**

Paper. ff. 12 (numbered pp. 482-496, 583-590) + iii. 326 × 223 mm. Late xviiith cent.

⁂ ff. 9-12. *Table alphabetique des noms, etc.*

21-22. (Crawford 33-34.) ARMORIAL. **Recueil d'armoiries contenant les armes des principales familles de France et des autres nations. I, (f. 3) De la Noblesse. (f. 2, *o.p.* 3) Des armoiries. (f. 13, *o.p.* 19) Regles Generales du Blason. (f. 24^{v}, *o.p.* 22) Des armes parlantes ou qui chantent. (f. 20, *o.p.* 33) Additions. (f. 28, *o.p.* 49) Indices des noms et seigneuries.**

Paper. ff. (I) 268 + iv, (II) 279 + iii. 201 × 156 mm. xviith cent.

⁂ I. f. 119^{v}. *Depuis la première page jusques à la 195* (i.e. ff. 120-217) *inclusivement tous les escussons peints ici sont tirés de Mervache, maistre Guesnier à Poictiers qui les auoit recueillis et peints en l'an 1506 et dont l'original est entre les mains de Monsieur Gaultier, ministre à Dompierre, près de la Rochelle, qui me fit la grace de me les prester. Le dit Pierre Mervache a datté son liure du 4^{e} May 1506 et signé. Il demeuroit près nostre dame la petite à Poictiers. Les Autheurs dont j'en ay receuillis d'autres sont Vulson de la colombière. . . . Le Père des Varennes dans son roy d'armes, . . . Segoing dans son Thresor heraldique . . . Scohier dans la gene-*

alogie de Croy, La Généalogie des Chasteigners, Les Annales d'Aquitaine. J'ay tiré les autres des vitres des Églises et des maisons, des cachets et de la bouche des personnes et des productions qui ont esté faictes à Poictiers les années 1665, 66, 67, 68, 69, . . . Cesar de Grandpré dans son Cesar Armorial, . . . Le père Menestrier dans sa Methode abbregées des principes héraldiques, . . . Du Val en son monde. . . . I, ff. 120-268 (*o.p. 1-298*) contains 863 coats of arms, emblazoned. II, ff. 2-278 (*o.p. 299-821*) contains 1639 coats of arms, emblazoned; and 24 drawings of shields (*o.p. 605*), 9 of helmets (*o.p. 607*), 27 of crowns, coronets, etc. (*o.p. 609-616, 621-623*), 8 of men in armour (*o.p. 617-619*), all in colours. Inside cover of Vol. I: *Jq. de Chantepie.*

23. (Crawford 36.) ARMORIAL. **Recueil de tous les Cheualliers de lordre du S^{t} Esprit depuis Henry III^{e} Roy de France et de Pollogne, Instituteur dudict ordre jusques en la presente annee Mil six cens vingt trois. Faict et mis en cest ordre par le sieur Claude de Valles, secretaire ordinaire de la chambre du Roy.**

Paper. ff. 333 + vi. 377 × 242 mm. xviith cent.

⁂ 276 coats of arms, emblazoned; portraits of Henry III, Henry IV, and Louis XIII; and 3 portraits showing the dress of the King and knights on various ceremonial occasions.

24. (Crawford 37.) DUCHÉS ET PAIRIES. **Duchés et comtés Pairies de France selon leurs verifications et le rang qu'elles ont a la Cour des Pairs. Avec les duchéz simples verifiées au Parlement de Paris, les duchés verifiées en d'autres Parlements que celuy de Paris et les duchés dont les lettres n'ont pas este verifiées.**

Paper. ff. 224 (some blank) + ii. 364 × 240 mm. xviiith cent.

⁂ On several pages are rough scribblings by members of the family of Vautier of Besançon. f. 45. *Ernest Rouquès* in margin.

25. (Crawford 38.) INDICES.

Paper. ff. 183 + i. 343 × 214 mm. xixth cent.

⁂ This MS. gives indices of the following works; (f. 1) *L'Art du Blason gravé à Amsterdam par D. Delafeuille, 1695.* (f. 15) *Chronologie des gentilshommes reçus à la Chambre de la Noblesse de Hainaut depuis 1550 jusqu'a 1779. Paris 1780.* (f. 22) *Trophées sacrées et profanes, par Butkens* (i.e. F. C. Butkens). (f. 86) *Généalogie de Van der Noot, 1771.*

26. (Crawford 39.) INDICES.

Paper. ff. 206. 317 × 195 mm., and various. xixth cent.

⁂ An unbound collection of indices of the following works: *Maison de Coloma* (28 ff.); *Suite du Supplément au Nobiliaire des Pays*

Bas, etc. (I-V). Malines, 1779 (53 ff.); *Mélanges de généalogie et de chronologie.* Bruxelles, 1771 (16 ff.); *Généalogie de quelques familles des Pays Bas.* Amsterdam, 1774 (15 ff.); *Beschryvinge van Dordrecht, door M. Balen.* Dordrecht, 1677 (30 ff.); *Maison de La Tour* (I-III) (24 ff.); *Histoire d'Irlande, par l'abbé Mac Geoghegan* (I-II) 1758 (35 ff.); *Maison de Colins* and also the *Maison de Spoelberch* (4 ff.); *Généalogie de De greintire* (1 f.).

27. **(Crawford 40.)** INDICES.

Paper. ff. 163. Various sizes. xixth cent.

⁂ An unbound collection of indices of the following works: *Mémoires généalogiques du Comte J. de St. Genois* (I-II) 1780-81 (32 ff.); *Monumens anciens, par feu le Comte le Saint Genois* (II) (38 ff.); *Noblesse de Flandres, par Philippe Lespinoy*, 1631 (22 and 57 ff.); *Recueil héraldique des Bourgmestres de Liège (P. Ophoven continué jusqu'en 1787).* Liège, 1783 (13 ff.).

28. **(Crawford 42.)** MISSIONS. **[Notes sur l'histoire des missions de la Compagnie de Jésus.]**

Paper. ff. 87. Various sizes. xixth cent.

⁂ The volume contains the following notes, many in Italian: *Extrait de Ribadaneira* (ed. 1676). *Indica*, etc.; *Catalogue de ma collection de missionaires;* notes on various *Lettere annue;* etc. Former owner: *Sobolewski, Sale No. 3653.*

29. **(Crawford 48.)** PROVENCE. **(f. 1) Critique du Nobiliaire de Provence composé par Monsieur l'abbé Robert de Briançon. Contenant l'épurement de la Noblesse,** *etc.* **(f. 210) Addition ou Supplément à l'auteur de la critique. (f. 215) Examen critique de la critique du nobiliare de Provence, 1755. (f. 260ᵛ) Addition ou Supplément à l'auteur de la Critique.**

Paper. ff. 264 + iv. 335 × 211 mm. xviiith-xixth cent.

⁂ f. 1. *Par l'abbé Barcilon de Mouvans.* See above MS. No. 10. On f. iᵛ in pencil is written *Guig. 2970.*

30. **(Crawford 66.)** TAÏTI. **Vocabulaire Franco-Taïtien.**

Paper. ff. 39 + iv. 201 × 315 mm. Early xixth cent.

31-41. **(Crawford 73-83.)** JACQUET MSS.

⁂ This is a collection of part of the papers of Eugène Vincent Stanislas Jacquet (1811-38), Membre de la Société Asiatique de Paris, and a frequent contributor to the *Journal Asiatique* (1829-38). The collection consists of numerous notes, bound together in no particular order, in eleven volumes of various sizes and dealing with a wide range of subjects. They include many notes on Oriental philology, numerous copies of Greek inscriptions, and transcripts of French *chansons* and poems.

42-51. (Crawford 84-93). GAZETTE MANUSCRITE.

Paper. 10 volumes. 212 × 157 mm., and various. 1775-1793.

⁂ The letters bound up in the various volumes cover the following periods:—

I (42). 6 April, 1775—21 December, 1776. ff. 331.
II (43). 31 May, 1778—30 December, 1779. ff. 366.
III (44). 2 January, 1780—31 December, 1780. ff. 340.
IV (45). 3 January, 1781—28 December, 1782. ff. 222.
V (46). 4 January, 1783—31 December, 1783. ff. 204.
VI (47). 3 January, 1784—29 December, 1784. ff. 237.
VII (48). 12 January, 1785—31 December, 1785. ff. 168.
VIII (49). 4 January, 1786—30 December, 1786. ff. 173.
IX (50). 3 January, 1787—15 September, 1787. ff. 107. }
26 September, 1790—24 November, 1790. ff. 77. } ff. 184.
(bound out of order)
X [51]. 28 July, 1792—11 May, 1793. ff. 162.

This manuscript *Gazette* consists of letters, sent at irregular intervals, but usually at least once a week, from Paris to Rennes. There are also a number of letters, some personal, sent from various towns in Brittany, which are not *Gazettes*. Many of the letters are addressed to *Monsieur le Comte* (or to *Madame la Comtesse*) *de Chateaugiron*; from 13 October, 1790, the title is changed to *Monsieur René Le Prêtre de Chateaugiron* (in 1790 *Commandant de la garde nationale de Lavaux, départment de la Loire Inférieure*); from September 22, 1792, there is simply *Citoyen René Le Prêtre*. Inserted are a few printed leaflets. Former owner: *Ashburton Sale No. 376*.

52. (Spenser 11329.) ÉVOLUTIONS NAVALES. **Évolutions navales avec le Raisonnement selon les Propositions et les Signaux de Mr. le Maréchal de Tourville. Dedié à Monsieur de Sabran Gramon, capitaine de vaisseau du Roy. Par son très humble serviteur Ardisson, Pilote.**

Paper. ff. 62 (15 blank) + iii. 177 × 242 mm. xviiith cent.

⁂ A frontispiece and 42 full-page water-colour drawings, with text on the back. Former owner: *Bibliotheca Lamoniana*. Old Nos.: *2 K. 366, 465, 109*.

53. (Spenser 22612.) ARTILLERIE DE LA MARINE. f. 7 (*o.p.* 1). **Mémoires concernant l'Artillerie de la Marine faits par le Sr Debenoist, qui en a le detail au Port de Toulon. Quoy que l'artillerie. . . .**

Paper. ff. 158 (+ 34 *planches*) + ii. 283 × 205 mm. xviiith cent.

⁂ (f. 3) *A Monseigneur le comte de Pontchartrain, Ministre et Secretaire d'Estat. Monseigneur. Voici les memoires. . . .* (f. 6) *Vostre* *tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur, Debenoitt.* Inserted are 34 drawings of guns, etc. Bookplate: *Bibliothèque de Jean Benjamin de Laborde, Premier Valet de Chambre du Roi, Gouverneur du Louvre et Fermier Général, et de Adelaïde Susanne de Vismes son épouse, 1786.*

54. [R. 45954] (Phillipps 24971). HISTOIRE UNIVERSELLE. (col. 1) **Cy sensuiuent les papes qui ont este a Romme depuis nostre sauueur jusques au pape Alexandre V^{e} qui regna en lan mil III cens IIII^{xx} et IX ou enuiron que la diuision commenca en sainte eglise de quoy ce fu dommage et pitie pour tout crestiente. Notre sauueur Jhesucrist . . . (col. 2) Cy sensuiuent les Empereurs qui ont Regne a Romme depuis Jullez Cesar qui premier en fu empereur jusques a loys de Bauiere qui fu Empereur en lan mil III^{c} XXVIII et combien chascun a Regner et de leur uie. Julius Cesar autrement . . . (col. 3) Cy sensuiuent les lignies des Roys de France et comment les generacions sont descendues lune de lautre et comme ilz sont faillis et si parle en brief de leurs fais et en quel temps ils ont Regne et combien et ou ilz gisent, quels enfans ils ont eu et en quel temps la cite de lutesse fu commencee et comment elle fu nommee Paris et comment le royaume de Gaule fu nommee France. Aus nobles qui aiment beaus fais . . . (col. 4) Cy sensuiuent les Roys qui ont regne en engleterre depuis Jhesu Christ et depuis le temps Julles Cesar jusquez au roy Richart et combien chascun a regne jusquez en l'an mil III^{c} quatre vins et XVI. . . . Lud fu roy de la grant bretaigne.**

Vellum roll. 8 membranes fastened together. 5 m. 10 × 0 m. 60. xvth cent.

⁂ Four chronicles in separate columns. Alongside the text of each column runs the pedigree, the names being in red circles joined up by red lines. There are a number of later additions. The last pope named is John XXIII (elected 17 May, 1410). The catalogue of popes supplied by succession and commentary has many variants from the usual succession found in the *Liber Pontificalis*, *Martinus Polonus*, etc. The chronicle relating to the Emperors seems to be independent of that of *Martinus Polonus*. The commentary on the Kings of France is largely based on the *Chroniques de Saint Denis*, the later part being considerably expanded. The pedigree originally ended with Charles VI, later it was continued to Charles VII, and still later *Loys dauphin de Viennois* (afterwards Louis XI) is named. The chronicle of the Kings of England originally ended with Henry IV; there are additions to Henry VI. The earlier (pre-Conquest) part is evidently a summary of a prose *Brut*. The many later additions seem to indicate that the roll was in the hands of an English scribe, pro-Lancastrian in sympathy, who made additions during the first half of the fifteenth century. On the back is a pedigree of the Kings of England and their families from William I, and a short chronicle in the form of annals for the years 1067 to 1448. At the head of the roll are conventional miniatures of a pope, emperor and kings, and in the text and margins of the roll 64 medallions with coloured representations of towns and churches, with notes as to their foundations, and twenty other coloured drawings, a number representing English towns and ecclesiastical foundations. Old Nos.: *64, 550, 2528.*

55. **[R. 26216.] (Phillipps 3950.)** MONSTRELET, ENGUERRAND DE. **Chroniques. (f. 2) Sensieuuent les Rubrices du premier liure que compila enguerran de monstrelet demourant a Cambray. Proheme du liure I. Cy parle de la generacion du roy charles de france vi^{e} . . . (f. 10, *o.n.* I) Extrait des hystores et croniques faites et compilees par noble homme enguerran de monstrelet . . .**

Paper. ff. 182 + vi. 380 × 275 mm. Late xvth cent.

⁎ A summary of the first book of Monstrelet's chronicles. f. iii^{v} (vellum). *Cest liure et a hault et puissant prince mons^{r} Engelbert de cleues conte de neuers deu de Rethel et dauxerre, per de France et gouerneur et lieutenant pour le Roy en Bourgoignie*, and below is written *k. ÆOLON.* f. iv (vellum). This is a leaf of a register recording various *rentes* for 1435 and 1436 of the district of Lens, etc. The MS. is cited by H. Omont in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, L (1889), p. 75. Formerly No. 104.

56. **[R. 45959.] (Phillipps 3777.)** NORMANDIE. **[Histoire des Ducs de Normandie et Roys d'Angleterre.] (f. 5) Par la diuision que li sage firent de toutes les terres sauons que . . . [La lignée du Roy Charlemaigne qui aporta les Reliques de la Terre Sainte.] (f. 65) Si comme nous trouuons es anciens liures Troyes fu anciennement la plus noble . . .**

Vell. ff. 86 + ii. 205 × 139 mm. xivth cent.

⁎ Many ornamented initials, and the borders of ff. 5 and 65 are decorated with foliage and grotesques. The text of the first work varies considerably from the *Histoire des ducs de Normandie*, etc. (ed. F. Michel, Paris, 1840). The second work is a short text of the first part of the *Chronique des Rois de France*, etc. (cf. P. Meyer in *Notices et Extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, XXXII, pt. II, pp. 56-59), with a short addition to the end of the Carolingian dynasty. On f. 2^{v} is written *Possessor huius Voluminis est Nicollaus Verdirus*, and on f. 4 *Nicole Verdier prisonnier* and *M. Germain Manclerc escuier Sieur des Moulins.* On f. 83^{v} is a note relating to the arrest of one *Joseph Le Sueur* by *Francoys Telles geollier* by order of *Mons^{r}*

le Lieutenant General de Mons^{r} *le Bailli dEvrux* on May 24, 1548. There are sixteenth-century notes relating to baptisms of members of the Telles family of Orbec, etc. Other former owners: (f. i^{v}) *J. B. Hautin* (seventeenth cent.); (inside cover) *À la Librairie Française et Etrangère de Galignani, Rue Vivienne, No. 18.* (f. 1^{v}) *Mr. Rennie's Library* (i.e., John Rennie's Sale, 1829?).

57. **[R. 26217.] (Phillipps 6968.)** FRANCE. **[Chronique de Noel de Fribois.] (f. 1, *o.n.* II) Cest chose prouffitable et qui aux Roys et princes de france doit estre moult delittable . . . (f. 133, *o.n.* VI^{xx}XV) Le dit Roy Charles VIII^{e} de ce nom fist son entree en la ville de florence . . . (f. 137, *o.n.* VI^{xx}XIX) Recapitulations sur le deuant dit. Lon trouve en ancienes cronicques . . .**

Paper. ff. 141 + ii (vellum). 203 × 139 mm. *Circ.* 1500.

⁂ The chronicle ends with the year 1498, though in the preface the intention is stated of ending with the reign of Charles VII (but see A. Thomas in *Romania*, XIX (1890), pp. 604-605, and E. Langlois in *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, etc., XXXIII, pt. II (1889), pp. 61-64. The second part of the MS. contains an account of the Italian campaign up to the battle of Fornovo, and is partly based on official printed narratives (see reprints by J. de la Pilorgerie, *Campagne et bulletins de la grande armée d'Italie commandée par Charles VIII.* The remaining portion of MS. relates to the years 1328 to 1339 and gives facts evidently taken from the better known chronicles. On f. ii is an acknowledgment of a debt on Mar. 25, 1503, of 500 *livres parisis* to be paid by *Michel Allegrin* to a *Damoiselle Jehanne C. . . .* Bound with this was MS. No. 71, see below. Former owner: *J. B. Hautin.* Old No.: *105.*

58. **[R. 26215.] (Phillipps 21859.)** BRETAGNE. **[Les Coutumes de Bretagne.] (f. 1) Aucunes foiz est aduenu que . . . (f. 3) Cy commencent les chappittres des coustumes et establissemens de bretaigne . . . (f. 15) Qui vouldroit entendre a viure honestement . . .**

Vell. ff. 215 (6 of paper) + i. 239 × 163 mm. xvth cent.
Binding of stamped leather (xvith cent.)

⁂ The last chapter and a half are missing in the MS. ff. 210-215 are a gathering of 6 leaves of paper with the following fifteenth-century entries: (f. 210) *Pierre Pean seigneur du grant bois et de la Rocheiagu sauoir faisons . . .* (This portion gives the text of the ratification of the treaty of Senlis by the Duke of Brittany, ed. Morice, *Mémoires pour servir de preuves à l'Histoire de Bretagne*, III, pp. 293-294, Paris, 1746, and an oath for the preservation of the treaty) . . . *En tesmoign de ce auons ces presentes signees de nostre signe manuel et scelles de nostre propre scell le xxiij*^{e} *jour de decembre lan mil iiij*^{c} *soixante quinze.*

Names of former owners, etc.: *Jehan Parpellay anglois; a Cristofle du quirissec appartient;* (f. 42^{v}) *Oluier bertoloi;* (f. i^{v}) *Je suis et apartiens a jehan chauniry thesmoing son signe cy mis le vigintiesme jour dapril lan mil cinq cens cinquante ouict. J. Chauniry;* (f. 75) *S^{r} P(?) Meilisen;* (f. 99) *Debrays, 1560;* (f. 113) *Jehan Maurec;* (f. i^{v}) *Achetée à Rennes le 8^{e} juillet 1741, consequament elle m'apartient. Desabaye Ilarion* (?)

59. [R. 53155.] (Phillipps 13952.) THÉOLOGIE. [Traicté du Pouuoir des Conciles Prouinciaux et Nationaux.] (f. 1) Sommaire de la première partie (f. 4) Première partie du Traicté . . . Pour bien comprendre l'estat . . . (f. 80) Sommaire de la seconde partie. (f. 81) Seconde partie du Traicté . . . En laquelle il est traicté du pouuoir . . . [Traicté de la Jurisdiction Ecclesiastique touchant la deposition des Euesques.] (f. 192) Sommaire du Traicté . . . (f. 204) Num. i. Entre les poincts de l'ancienne discipline . . . [Mémoire de Monsieur l'Archeuesque de Toulouse, contenant l'examen d'une Thèse soustenu au College de Clermont touchant l'Infaillibilité du Pape. MDC LXI.] (f. 308) Sommaire du Memoire . . . (f. 313) Le xii^{e} jour de Decembre 1661, on soustint des Theses . . .

Paper. ff. 340. 327 × 232 mm. Early xviiith cent.

⁂ On the binding are the arms of Charles Joachim Colbert de Croissy, Bishop of Montpellier. Inside front cover: *Redferne, Warwick, 1838.*

60. [R. 48229.] (Phillipps 9968.) SATYRES. (f. 2) Je scay mon cher Tircis . . . (f. 4) Un sot se meleroit des affaires des grands . . . (f. 9) Satyre sur la police de Paris. Que je me trouve heureux . . . (f. 17) Satyre contre les Curez. Quel est donc ce cahos . . . (f. 21) Satyre contre les Abbez. Quoy ce prince esclairé . . . (f. 24) Satire sur la fausse direction. Au R. P. Bourdaloue, Jesuite. Chrisostome francois censeur Evangelique . . .

Paper. ff. 31. Various sizes. xviith cent.

61. [R. 56060.] (Phillipps 7261.) [FIEFFÉS DE LA FORÊT D'AUDAINE.] (f. 1) Registre des baillees et fieffes faictes jouxte la forest daudaine par [Carbon de Lupe, Guyon Essyrart et Leon Millet commissaires en cette partie de M. le Duc d'Alencon. Novembre, 1490, *later hand.*] (f. 2) Coppie. Rene duc dalencon Per de France Conte du Perche et viconte de beaumont a nos amez et feaulx conseillers carbon S^{r} de

luppe, . . . (f. 3) En lundi quinziesme jour de nouembre et autres jours subsequens en dit moys lan mil iiij iiij$^{\text{cxx}}$ et dix adiudicacions et bailles faictes des terres baillables enuiron le forest daudaine a deux sols tournois. . . .

Vell. ff. 13. 334 × 242 mm. 1490.

⁂ The accounts are signed by various officials, see ff. 12$^{\text{v}}$ and 13$^{\text{v}}$ Old No.: *869*.

62. [R. 18106.] Grandes Chroniques de France. (f. 1$^{\text{v}}$) Cy commencent les chappitres du premier liure des croniques de france. Le premier chappitre comment les francois descendirent des troyens de troie la grant. (f. 2, *o.n.* 1) Quatre cens et quatre ans auant que Romme . . .

Vell. ff. 502 + iv (paper). 416 × 285 mm. xvth cent. Binding: xviith cent. in *Le Gascon* style.

⁂ The period covered ends with the beginning of the reign of Charles VI. The MS. contains 26 miniatures which are good examples of French art in the mid-fifteenth century. Several folios (*o.n. I, VII-XII, CCCCIIII^{xx} XI and XII*) are missing, but have been replaced by a transcript made for the Abbé Antoine de Séve in the early seventeenth century and on f. 1 the arms of the Abbé are given. Former owners: (f. CCCLIII) *Beauuoyer* (?), (f. CCCLXIIII) *De bon gonneil* in sixteenth century hands; (ff. 1, CCCCIIII^{xx} et XII$^{\text{v}}$) *Guyon de Sardiere* (see *Mémoires de litterature tirez des registres de l'Academie royale des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, XV, 1743, p. 613, and *Catalogue des livres de la Bibliothèque du feu M.J.B. Denis Guion, chev., seigneur de Sardière*, Paris, 1759, no. 1626, and p. xxxi. On the covers are stamped the arms of the Abbé de Séve and also those of the Scotts, Dukes of Buccleugh, only in the latter case the 2nd and 4th quarters are interchanged. Old MS. No.: *65*.

63. [R. 33634.] Simon de Hesdin. [Valerius Maximus.] (f. 1) Incipiunt capitula librorum Valerii Maximi factorum et dictorum memoralium . . . (f. 2$^{\text{v}}$) Incipit epistola super declaratione Valerii Maximi edita a fratre dionisio de burgo sancti sepulcri, ordinis fratrum heremitarum sancti augustini sacre theologie dignissimo magistro. Reverendo in Christo Patri suo domino spiritualissimo . . . (f. 3) Incipit expositio et declaratio textus super Valerium Maximum. Prohemium. Urbis Romae, etc. Valerius huic operi suo . . . (f. 5) Cy apres commence le liure de Valerius Maximus translate de latin en francois par religieuse personne maistre Symon de hesdin maistre en theologie et frere de lospital de saint Jehan de Jherusalem.

A la requeste de Charles le quint Roy de france. La briefte et fragilite de ceste doloreuse vie temporelle . . .

Vell. ff. 431 + vii (paper). 410 × 289 mm. Early xvth cent.

*** Books I-V only, although the list of chapters is for the whole work, i.e., Books I-IX The MS. also gives the Latin text (though some portions of this were only added later in the margins) and a commentary on the same (in Latin) by Dionysius de Burgo. There are five ornamented letters and borders. f. 56 (in margin) *Nota contre les francois qui recepterent henry de lencastre qui au partir deulz fist mourir son seigneur le Roy Richart d angleterre gendre du Roy de france et son alie et fu enuiron les annees mil iij*^{c} *iiij*^{xx} *xviij, xix et les ensuivantes.* f. 1. *Ph. Mainwaringe. pre. 10£* (xviith cent.). Former owner: The Portico Library, Manchester.

64. [R. 33819.] CHRONICON ANGLIAE. (f. 1) **Nus deuoms sauer al comencement ke le isle de bretaingne . . .**

Vell. ff. 54 + iv. 234 × 166 mm. Late xiiith cent. Binding: old boards covered with pink sheepskin.

*** In an English hand. The period covered is from the earliest times till 1274. The MS. is evidently earlier than the Trinity College MS. published by J. Glover as *Le livere de reis de Engleterre* (chronicles and memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the middle ages, etc., XLII, London, 1865). f. 1. *ffairfax*, [*nunc e libris Rad. Thoresby Leodiensis* added]. f. i. *This book belonged to General Fairfax . . .* Former owners: Tixall Library (see Sir Frederick A. T. C. Constable's Sale, Nov. 6, 1899); George Dunn of Woolley Hall, near Maidenhead.

65. [R. 45318.] GUILLAUME DE THIGNONVILLE. **Les ditz des philosophes. (f. 1) Cy commence la table des Rubricques de ce present liure Intitule Les ditz des philozophes. (f. 1^{v}) Sensuyuent aucuns enseignemens de philozophie moralle faiz par le tres renomme prince des philozophes Aristote sur les quatre vertus cardinalles. (f. 3) Sensuiuent plusieurs notables enseignemens que fist Senecque en son liure de meurs. (f. 4, *o.n.* i) Sedechias fut phylozophe le premier par qui de la volunte . . . (f. 92^{v}, *o.n.* iiij^{xx}ix) Sensuyuent aucuns ditz de philozophie de aristote et autres philozophes. Aristote qui fut le souuerain philozophe trouua alexandre qui plouroit . . . (f. 124^{v}, *o.n.* vi^{xx}i) Sensuiuent plusieurs notables enseignemens que fist Seneque en son liure de meurs. Senecque dit ou liure de meurs . . .**

Vell. ff. 129 + iv. 274 × 198 mm. xvth cent.

*** The works following the well-known translation of Guillaume de Thignonville are of a similar character with fragments of translations of

Aristotle, Seneca, Cato and others. Former owner: The Earl of Ashburnham. MS. No. 157.

66. [R. 4598.] Le Roman de la Rose. (f. 1^{v}) **Le primier capitle enseingne comment laucteur de cest liure proeue que tout songe ne sont pas fables . . . Chest liure qui on appelle le roumans de la rose commencha maistre guillaumes de loris et le fist duskes a chest vers: chest li songes etc. Apres le mort guillaume le continua maistre iehan chopinel de meun et ambedoi dient que des choses escriptes en ce roumans estoit uns songes mais riens ni auoit que tout auenu ne soit et est asauoir que en che songe sont contenu mout de beaus dis de beaus examples et de autres soutilletes par rubrikes notees et alarme et au corps profitables che semble a celui qui ches rubrikes et les autres ordena et fist, et sil a errei il rapelle ses erreus et le veut amender. (f. 2) On voit souuent aucunes gens de diuerses manieres . . . (f. 4^{v}) Che sont li capitle et li title des materes du rommans de la rose . . . (f. 7) Chi commenche li roumans de la Rose. Maintes gens dient . . . (f. 41) Chi commenche maistre iehan chopinel de meun a continuer le rommans de la rose. Et si lai ie perdu espoir . . .**

Vell. ff. 163 + vi. 280 × 197 mm. xivth cent.

⁂ The last few pages are missing and the text breaks off at V, l. 21008 (see the edition by E. Langlois, *Le roman de la rose*, Paris, 1914-25). f. 7 has a foliated border with figures and there are four small miniatures on ff. 7, 22, 87, 87^{v}. The small treatise on ff. 2-4 is anonymous, but is attributed by M. Ernest Langlois to Richard de Fournival. f. 2. *De Conventu Patrum Minimorum Montensium.* Formerly No. 96.

67. [R. 22720.] Les Francs-Maçons. **Procedures curieuses de l'Inquisition de Portugal contre les Francs Maçons pour découvrir leur Secret avec les Interogatoires et les Réponses, les Cruautés Excercées par ce Tribunal, la Description de l'intérieur du S. office, son origine et ses Excès. Divisées en Trois Parties par un frere Maçon sorti de l'Inquisition. Revûes et publiées par L.T.V.I.L.R.D.M. Dans la vallée de Josaphat. L'an de la fondation du temple de Salomon MMDCCCIII.**

Paper. ff. 172 + iv. 210 × 160 mm. xviiith cent.

⁂ *Bought in Paris, Sept. 1876. T. Windsor.*

68. [R. 23601.] Benoit Spinosa. **(f. 1) De tribus impostoribus ou L'esprit de Benoist Spinosa. Par M. le comte de Boulainvilliers. (f. 2) Auertissement. Un ouurage attribué a M. le comte de**

Boulainvilliers n'est encore que manuscript, il étoit . . . (f. 4, *o.p.* 1) L'esprit de Benoit Spinosa. Quoyquil importe a tous les hommes . . . (f. 64) Lettre de Frédéric 2, Empereur, petit fils de Frédéric-Barberousse a Othon Duc de Bavière traduite du Latin de Pierre des Vignes Secretaire de l'empereur. (f. 66) Corrections et additions ou variantes.

Paper. ff. 68 + vi. 162 × 103 mm. xviith cent.

⁂ f. ii. *Written after 1650, probably by Pierre Frédéric Arpe, . . . T.W.* Former owners: *Vaernewyck* (inside cover); *T.W*(indsor). Formerly No. 102.

69. **[R. 11790.]** JOSIAS. **Le veritable Lion Rouge du manuscrit de Josias. (f. 1, *o.p.* 1) Je n'entreprendray point de parler icy de l'influence des Astres . . .**

Paper. ff. 138 + iv. 163 × 102 mm. xviith cent.

⁂ A note pasted to f. ii. says "*Ce manuscrit de Josias est cité comme MSC. dans la bibliotheque chymique de Borel. Ainsi il y a apparence qu'il n'est pas imprimé: je n'en connois point de copie. Penot à portu s*^{ta} *Maria est l'original de cet ecrit enigmatique.*" Formerly No. 108.

70. **[R. 40332.]** SIGNES DE LA MAIN. **(f. 1) Comme il faut Mesurer les Signes Vitales, Naturelle(s) et epatique(s) et la façon pour trouuer la proportion de la Main. Le Coeur par la propre action . . .**

Paper. ff. 8. 178 × 112 mm. xviiith cent.

⁂ Several diagrams. Formerly No. 110. Former owner: Miss Peacock.

71. **[R. 52731.] (Phillipps 6968.)** ARTILLERIE ROYALE. **[Fragments of accounts, etc.]**

Paper. ff. 26. Various sizes. 1472-87.

⁂ Twenty-eight fragments found in the binding of French MS. No. 57, see above. They consist of "*12 feuillets du carnet de Christophe Constant, garde ordinaire de l'artillerie; 9 demi-feuillets (partie supérieure) d'un registre du matériel de l'artillerie royale pendant la campagne de Picardie (1477); 2 demi-feuillets (partie supérieure) d'un registre des comptes du charroi de l'artillerie; enfin cinq fragments de reçus de matériel et de cédules de paiement.*" See Robert Fawtier, *Documents inédits sur l'organisation de l'artillerie royale au temps de Louis XI*, contributed to *Essays in Medieval History presented to Thomas Frederick Tout*, ed. A. G. Little and F. M. Powicke, Manchester, 1925, pp. 367-377.

72. [R. 29093.] STATUTA ANGLIAE. (f. 1) **Incipiunt capitula Statuti [Regis Edwardi tercii]. (f. 169) Incipiunt Statuta de anno primo Regis Ricardi secundi. Richard par la grace de dieu . . .**

Vell. ff. 251 + iv. 158 × 110 mm. Late xivth cent.

⁂ The period covered is from 1 Edward III-13 Richard II. The first folio of the statutes of Edward III is missing (i.e. between ff. 16 and 17). There is an ornamented initial on f. 169 with a small portrait of the head of a king (*i.e.* Richard II). f. i. *Tho. Taylor. The Gift of Wm. Lane of Coffleet, May 1789. Statutes of Edw*^{d} *3*rd *and Rich*^{d} *2*^{d} *found among Lumber at Bradley in a Room that had been the Chapel. Mess*^{rs} *Polwhele, Andrew and Swete were with me.* Book-plate: *Tho*^{s} *Taylor, Arm. de Denbury in Com. Devon.*

73. [R. 41487.] NORMANDIE. (f. 2) **Le coustumier du pays et duché de Normendie. Primum prohemium. Pource que la grand malice de convoitise . . . (f. 3) [. . .] ler les droiz des tenebres. . . . Le droit. Droit est diuise en deux parties . . .**

Vell. ff. 248 + i. 114 × 85 mm. xvth cent.

⁂ There is a long note on the inside of the covers beginning "*Memorandum. This book differs in the words of the text and in severall chapters from the printed* (sic) *from the book printed at Roan by Nicolas Le Roux for Francis Regnault in 1539* . . . f. 1. *Liber Petri Le Neve, Norroy. Bought at an auction of Mr. Le Neve's Books. March 1730. N. Hardinge.*

74. [R. 55975.] BRETAGNE. **[Les Coutumes de Bretagne.] (f. 1) Aucune foiz est auenu en plusieurs terres . . . (f. 2) Cy fine le prologue de ce present liure Et commencent les chapitres ou le Repertoire diceulx. (f. 13, *o.n.* 1) Que veult viure honnestement. . . .**

Vell. ff. 136 + iv. 250 × 173 mm. Early xvth cent.

⁂ On f. 136^{v} is copied out part of an Assize of Count Geoffrey, at Rennes in 1185 (see M. Planiol, *La très ancienne coutume de Bretagne* (Bibliothèque Bretonne Armoricaine, fasc. ii., pp. 321-322). Book-plate: *Sir Thomas Brooke, Bart., F.S.A., Armitage Bridge.* Other former owners: Barrois MS. No. *299*; The Earl of Ashburnham.

75. [R. 21238.] BRITTON. **Traité de Britton. (f. 1) . . . des jurours ne des pleintes a eus fetes . . .**

Vell. ff. 137. 252 × 167 mm. Early xivth cent. Unbound, in case.

⁂ The MS. has been damaged by fire and the first and last two leaves are missing. f. 136^{v} . . . *de Riches genz pusanz si com de Contes e de Barons e de touz* (ends). Formerly No. 97.

76. [R. 56787.] MÉLANGES LITTÉRAIRES. **Premier Recueil de Vers.**

Paper. ff. 54 (pp. 1-101). 277 × 201 mm. xviiith cent.

⁂ A miscellaneous collection of verse, political, satirical, laudatory and amatory, including a number of epitaphs of Louis XIV and others, and poems, epigrams and epistolary verses to or about members of the French court and other well-known contemporary figures. Usually the poems are fairly short, the most considerable being the *Philippiques de 1720* (pp. 12-48) and *Le Diable Banquier* (pp. 82-85). There is a *Table Alphabétique des Vers* (pp. 99-101).

77. [R. 56787.] MÉLANGES LITTÉRAIRES. **(Deuxième) Recueil de Vers.**

Paper. ff. 46 (pp. 1-87). 277 × 201 mm. xviiith cent.

⁂ A collection of verse similar in character to that of MS. No. 76, including various poems relating to England, *Le Coq Anglais*, *Les Rats d'Angleterre* (*Fable*), etc. Pp. 83-87, *Table des Pièces.*

78. [R. 56787.] MÉLANGES LITTÉRAIRES. **Troisième Recueil de Vers.**

Paper. ff. 44 (pp. 1-80, I-VII) 277 × 201 mm. xviiith cent.

⁂ A collection of verse similar in character to that of MS. 76, including a fairly long poem *À S.A.S. Madame la Princesse Caroline de Brunswik sur son mariage avec le Prince de Galles et sur la Guerre présente* (pp. 33-38) and a number of *Épîtres*, to Voltaire, St. Lambert, Madame de Bouillon, Le Marquis d'Argens, Monsieur d'Argental and others. Pp. I-VII, *Table des Pièces.*

79. [R. 56787.] MÉLANGES LITTÉRAIRES. **Quatrième Recueil de Vers.**

Paper. ff. 46 (pp. 1-86). 277 × 201 mm. xviiith cent.

⁂ A collection of verse similar in character to that of MS. 78. The longer poems include *La Mezza Eta ; Canzonetta Anacreontica*, with French translation (pp. 2-8) ; *Réponse de Monsieur Marmontel a l'Epitre de Monsieur de Voltaire* (pp. 9-12) ; *L'Horoscope de Perette* (pp. 65-74). Pp. 81-86, *Table des Pièces.*

80. [R. 56787.] MÉLANGES LITTÉRAIRES. **(Cinquième) Recueil de Chansons, Vers, etc.**

Paper. ff. 51 (pp. 1-96). 277 × 201 mm. xviiith cent.

⁂ A collection of verse similar in character to that of MS. 76. There are numerous *Chansons*, with the airs usually indicated. Pp. 89-95, *Table des Pièces.*

81. [R. 56787.] MÉLANGES LITTÉRAIRES. **(Sixième) Recueil de Prose et de Vers.**

Paper. ff. 58 (pp. 1-110). 277 × 201 mm. xviiith cent.

⁂ A collection of verse similar in character to that of MS. 76, together with a number of pieces of prose, including *Idées de la Mothe Le Vayer* (pp. 7-11); *Prospectus. De la pompe funèbre de très haute, très puissante et très excellente Princesse, Madame la Compagnie des Indes, etc.* (pp. 12-18); *Discours que doit prononcer M. l'Abbé Ségui pour sa réception à l'Académie Française* (pp. 19-28). Pp. 102-109, *Table de Prose et de Vers.*

82. [R. 56787.] MÉLANGES LITTÉRAIRES. **Septième Recueil de différentes Pièces.**

Paper. ff. 58 (pp. 1-112). 277 × 201 mm. xviiith cent.

⁂ A collection similar in character to that of MS. 81, including copies of letters of Voltaire, Rousseau, and others; also *Réflexions sur le Bonheur. Par Madame La Marquise du Châtelet* (pp. 51-94), and *Traduction d'une Lettre d'Hypocrate à Damagette* (pp. 95-107). Pp. 107-111, *Table des matières.*

83. [R. 56787.] MÉLANGES LITTÉRAIRE. **Huitième Recueil.**

Paper. ff. 46 (pp. 1-86). 277 × 201 mm. xviiith cent.

⁂ Another collection of prose and verse, including *Les Echecs. Poëme* (pp. 35-54); *Observations sur la Fable de l'Aigle et du Hibou de M. de Séruti (Ces observations sont de feu Monsieur l'Abbé Arnaud de l'Académie Française)* (pp. 67-78); and several *Chansons.*

84. [R. 56787.] MÉLANGES LITTÉRAIRES. **Neuvième Recueil des différentes Pièces.**

Paper. ff. 47 (pp. 1-87). 277 × 201 mm. xviiith cent.

⁂ Another collection of prose and verse, including *Lettre écrite par Madamoiselle de Seine, comédienne, épouse de M^r^ Quinault du Fresne, comédien a MM. de l'Académie Française* (pp. 9-22); *Lettre Pastorale de M. l'Évêque Pancrace Pellegrin*, etc. (pp. 22-26); *Le Réquisitoire. Pot-Pourri. Chanté le 17 janvier 1787, jour de la Fête de Saint Antoine, Patron de Monsieur Séguier* (pp. 33-44); *Ode sur l'Insensibilité, à M. Franklin* (pp. 45-49).

85. [R. 56787.] MÉLANGES LITTÉRAIRES. **Dixième Recueil.**

Paper. ff. 20 (also many blank pages). 277 × 201 mm. xviiith cent.

⁂ A collection of verse similar in character to that of MS. 76, including *Eglé* (ff. 4-5) and *L'Amour Platonique, Conte* (ff. 5-11).

86. [R. 56938.] ORDRE DE SAINT MICHEL. **[Statuts de l'Ordre de Saint Michel.] (f. 3) Table des chappitres du liure de lordre du Roy. (f. 7^v) Loys par la grace de dieu Roy de France Savoir**

faisons . . . (f. 41ᵛ) . . . nous auons fait apposer, nostre seel a ces presentes. Donne au plessis du parc les tours le xxiiᵉ jour de decembre, l'an de grace mil cccc soixante seize de nostre Regne le seiziesme.

Paper. ff. 43. 239 × 167 mm. Early xvith cent.

⁂ The statues of 1469 (see f. 32) with the 1476 additions. There is an illuminated border (f. 7ᵛ) and three ornamented initials. The arms of Charles de Bourbon, Iᵉʳ duc de Vendôme (1489-1537), are emblazoned at the foot of f. 3 and six times in the margin of f. 7ᵛ, once on the coat of a man in armour. Former owners: Barrois MSS. No. 187; The Earl of Ashburnham.

87. [R. 59238.] SERMONS. (f. 1) Cy commance la Vangille de la toussains (f. 1ᵛ) quelle Eunagile est contenue et faite de lautin en francois. Beati pauperes . . . (f. 23ᵛ) Cy apres sensuit lenseignement que S. Ysidores aprent a humanie creature pour sauuer lame. Sainte escripture . . . (f. 26) Cy commence un sermon translate de latin en francroys appelle le miroir des pecheurs. Car chascun par ycelui sermon et enseignement se peust mirer et veoir quel il est et quel il doit estre et a quoy il doit rendre et adrecier sa vie et son entendement. Mes tres chiers freres. Nous sommes en ce monde . . . (f. 42) Cest cy le commencement de la vertu de la vraie foy. Les genz qui ne croient . . . (f. 55) Cest la vertu de esperance. Esperance est une coulompne . . . (f. 58) Cy commence la vertu de carite. Apres esperance . . . (f. 62ᵛ) Cy apres nous parlerons des especes de lamour diuine. Chi apres . . . (f. 63) Ce sont vii choses de quoi on est ame de dieu. Sept choses . . . (f. 65) Cy ensient les x signez pour amer dieu. Apres parle iou . . . (f. 72) Cest la vertu de contemplacion. Or weul ie parler . . . (f. 77) Cy commence la table de tres excellans prouerbes et enseignemens des sains dotteurs autrement nomme le mirouer de vraie lummiere . . . (f. 78) Cy apres commence le premier prologue. Sainte escripture nous enseigne . . . (f. 79ᵛ) Cy fine le premier prologue et commence le ijᵉ. Sachent ceulx . . . (f. 81) Cy finist le ijᵉ prologue et commence le premier chapitre de ce liure cy qui parle de dieu. Saint augustin dit monseigneur mon dieu . . . (f. 120ᵛ) Qui en paradis veult aler . . .

Vell. ff. 121 + ii (paper). 170 × 131 mm. Late xivth-xvth cent.

⁂ In three or more different hands. ff. 1-25, 42-76 are earlier in date. f. 76ᵛ. *Cest present liure est a moy Claude Chaulmont.*

f. 121. *Ad usum frater Claudius Gaiche* (xvth cent.). Book plate: *Ex libris Richard Hancock.*

88. (Crawford English MS. 19.) ARMORIAL. **[Stacey Grimaldi Roll.]**

Vell. roll. 3000 × 240 mm. *Circ.* 1350.

⁂ 167 coats of arms emblazoned, including the arms of some English and continental royal and noble families, but chiefly those of Yorkshire and North of England families. The text was printed by Stacey Grimaldi, ninth Marquess Grimaldi of Genoa [1790-1863]; see *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, Nichols, London, 1835, II, pp. 320-328; also in *Miscellaneous writings, prose and poetry, from printed and manuscript sources by the late Stacey Grimaldi, F.S.A.* London, 1874, pp. 145-150.

89-96. [R. 59515.] LA MARQUISE D'HUXELLES. **La correspondance de la Marquise d'Huxelles.**

Paper. 8 volumes. Various sizes. Late xviith-early xviiith cent.

⁂ The letters bound up in the various volumes cover the following periods:—

I (89).	1689[1]	ff. 317.
II (90).	1694, 1695.	ff. 313.
III (91).	1696, 1697.	ff. 371.
IV (92).	1698, 1699.	ff. 404.
V (93).	1700, 1701.	ff. 445.
VI (94).	1702, 1703.	ff. 435.
VII (95).	1708.	ff. 295.
VIII (96).	Various dates (out of order).	ff. 346.

Other volumes of the above are now preserved in the Bibliothèque du Musée Calvet, Avignon, numbered *MSS. 1419* (1704, 1705); *1420* (1709-1710); *1421* (1711, 1712). For this correspondence see the article by Dr. Robert Fawtier, *La Correspondance de la Marquise d'Huxelles et du Marquis de la Garde*, in *The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, ix (1925), pp. 501-541. Former owner: Alfred Morrison.

97. [R. 61201.] LAW REPORTS. **(f. 1) Index, A-G. (f. 12, *o.n.* 1) L'abridgement de 8^{e} Report par Monsieur Plowden. (f. 100^{v}) Index, 9-5. (f. 108) Abridgement des Reportes Seignior Dyer (*printed*). (f. 170) Index, S-W.**

Paper. ff. 172. 176 × 120 mm. xviith cent.

⁂ The leaves of the printed work are inset with MS. notes in the margins.

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[1] Originally there were also letters for 1687, 1688.

98. [R. 61214.] STATUA ANGLIAE. [Commentaries.]

Paper. ff. 44. 216 × 149 mm. xvth cent.

*** ff. 3-39v contain notes in French on the 2nd Statute of Westminster 13 Edward I, chaps. iv-vii. On f. 43 is the text of the statute of 6 Richard II, chap. vi.

99. [R. 14335.] HISTOIRE UNIVERSELLE. **[Cy s'ensuit la genealogie de la] bible que monstre et dit combien chascun aage a dure depuis le commencement du monde jusques a laduenement Jhesucrist et comprent en brief comment les trois [fils Noe peuplerent tout le mon]de apres le deluge. Et comment ilz nommerent les terres et pays ou ilz habitoient de leurs noms. Et comment les troiens descendirent de la ligniee iaphet. Et puis [monstre par signes comment] quatre manieres de gens se partirent de troie le grant apres la destruccion dicelle lesquelz habiterent et peuplerent plusieurs pays et terres et les nommerent de leurs noms [et fonderent plusieurs cites] villes et chasteaux. Et par especial Romme paris de Wandes. Cest a dire peuplerent Romaine lombardie france et angleterre. Et en quel temps et comment et combien ilz ont regne [lun apres lautre jusques au temps de lad]uenement nostre seigneur ihesucrist. Si comme il appert par lenseigne des branches des genealogies. Et apres trouueres des papes et des empereurs et aussi des roys de france et [dangleterre a jusques en lan mil quatre] cens cinquante et sept. Et des roys crestiens qui ont regne en Jherusalem puis Godefroy de billon, etc.**

Vellum roll. 17 m. 23 × 0 m. 686. xvth cent.

*** In 2, 3, 4 or 5 columns varying in different parts of the roll. There are 65 medallions with coloured representations of Biblical and mediæval scenes. Many initial letters in gold and colours. The roll is a compilation from others, as is evident from the following passages: "*Cy fine le viel testament et lordre de prestrise de la vieille loy. Et sensuit lordre saincte de prestrise qui nostre seigneur Jhesucrist ordonna ou viel testament et du nouuel. Et trouueres en lautre roule. Et commence saint pierre . . .*"; "*La fine des consuls de Romme et trouueres apres ou roule du nouuel testament des empereurs, etc.*"; "*Cy fine des bretons cest assauoir depuis le commencement de bretaigne iusques a Jules Cesar ou iusques a la nativite Jhesuchrist et trouueres demourant en lautre roule qui commence depuis Jhesucrist iusques en lan mil trois cens quatre vins, etc.*" The history of the Papacy here given ends at 1378; that of the Emperors at 1338; that of the Kings of France at 1461; and that of the Kings of England with Henry IV. On the dorse of the roll on a patch is written: *Par Le Roy Gaillard.* Formerly No. 94.

100. [R. 55241.] WACE, ROBERT. **Mémoires sur la vie et les ouvrages de Robert Wace, poete françois du xii siècle [par l'abbé Gervais de la Rue].**

Paper. ff. 14. 220 × 185 mm. Late xviiith cent.

_ See *Archæologia*, XII (1796), pp. 50-79, for a paper in English, which is for the most part a translation of the above.

101. [R. 8803.] GRESSET, JEAN BAPTISTE LOUIS. **[Épîtres, vers, etc.]**

Paper. ff. 64 (pp. 1-111). 154 × 92 mm. xviiith cent.

_ A collection of fugitive pieces in verse written by, or occasionally addressed to, Gresset. With the MS. are bound the following printed works of Gresset: *Ver-Vert*, etc., VIe ed., MDCCXXXVI; *La Chartreuse* . . ., IIe ed., MDCCXXXVI; *Les Ombres*, etc., IIe ed., MDCCXXXVI; *Le Caresme impromptu et le Lutrin vivant.* MDCCXXXV. Former owners: *Cyrus Redding*, 1817; *G. H. Adshead.*

102. [R. 64653.] (Phillipps 5277.) ORDRE DE SAINT MICHEL. (f. 1) **Le Liure des Status et ordonances del Ordre Sainct Michel estably par le tres Christien Roy de France Loys unzieme ce nom. Institution de l' office de Preuost et Maistre des ceremonies, auec austres status, et ordonances sur le faict du dict ordre.** (f. 2) **Table des chapitres . . .** (f. 9) **Loys par la grace de Dieu. . . .** (f. 33) **. . . le uingt deuxieme jour de decembre, lan de grace mil quatre cens soixante et seize et de nostre regne le seze.**

Paper. ff. 33 + x. 198 × 149 mm. xviiith cent.

_ Former owners: Lord Guilford (book-plate); W. A. Shaw.

103-104. (Crawford Irish Coll. 97, 98.) ARMORIAL. **Recueil d'armoiries de plusieurs familles illustres et nobles tant originaires qu' établiés au Roiaume d'Irlande, 1771.**

Paper. ff. 173 + xi, 92 + xx. 148 × 86 mm. xviiith cent.

_ Vol. I contains 164 coats of arms roughly drawn and emblazoned and a list of families; Vol. II, evidently unfinished, contains 80 (75 emblazoned) coats of arms, and an alphabetical index for Vol. I.

105. (Crawford Irish Coll. 119.) ARMORIAL. **Originaires irlandais recueillis par messire Philippe Jn. Bte. O'Kelly de Galway des Comtes O'Kelly d'Agrim de Tyeooly et héraut d'armes.**

Paper. ff. 119 (pp. 1-238) + vi. 373 × 244 mm. xviiith cent.

_ An index (6 ff.) is inserted. The MS. consists of transcripts of documents, genealogical notes, extracts from printed works, etc., in

French, Latin and English. Inserted in the text are numerous drawings of coats of arms (some emblazoned), including those of a number of the Scottish nobility. Former owners: *Alph. Car. Alb. Comes O'Kelly ab Agrim*; D. H. Kelly.

106. (Crawford Irish Coll. 120). ARMORIAL. **Irlandais recueillis par messire Philippe Jn. Bte. O'Kelly de Galway des Comtes d'Agrim Tyeooly et Roi d'armes.**

Paper. ff. 116 (pp. 1-232) + i. 372 × 242 mm. xviiith cent.

⁂ An index (6 ff.) is inserted. A similar collection to that of MS. 105. Many drawings of coats of arms (emblazoned). Former owners: *Alph. Car. Alb. Comes O'Kelly ab Agrim*; D. H. Kelly.

107. [R. 60571.] FAMILLES ANGLO-NORMANDES. **Recherches sur diverses familles anglo-normandes. Par Gabriel Ogilvy de la Société Généalogique de la Grande-Bretagne.**

Paper. 13 note-books. Various sizes. 1864-65.

⁂ The following families are dealt with: I, *Jesse, Isigny*; II, *Archer* (1066-1204); III, *Aubigny* (1066-1204); IV, *Aunay* (1066-1204); V, *Basset* (1066-1204); VI, *Bastard* (1066-1204); VII, *Granvill*; VIII, *Familles anglo-normandes et étrangères établies en Angleterre*. IX-XII contain *Références aux familles anglo-normandes*, and XIII a *Current catalogue of foreign genealogy and cartularies of the British Museum*.

108. [R. 34556.] PRIÈRES. **Prières pendant la Sainte Messe.**

Bristol paper. ff. 52 + vii. 187 × 153 mm. 1848-56.

⁂ The MS. is illustrated throughout with illuminated initials, highly decorative borders, and 21 miniatures copied from various famous illuminated fifteenth and sixteenth century *Horae* and liturgical works, some of which are in the British Museum. Pencil notes on several pages indicate that they are the work of C. W. Wing.

109. [R. 62138.] PATOIS DE LA FRANCE. **Quatres cents cinquante-deux notes bibliographiques sur les éditions des ouvrages écrits dans les divers dialectes de la France.**

Paper. ff. 28 + v. 356 × 240 mm. xixth cent.

110. [R. 67977.] COMITÉ RÉVOLUTIONNAIRE. **Émargement des Membres du Comité Révolutionnaire des Sections de Paris, 1793.**

Paper. ff. 29 + viii. 477 × 354 mm. and various sizes. 1793.

⁂ 29 large sheets for the following sections: *Le Pelletier* (1); *La fontaine de Grenelle* (2); *Les Quinze Vingts* (3); *Les Champs-Elysées* (4); *Mutius Scaevola* (5); *Les Arcis* (6); *Le F.B. du Nord* (7); *Le Temple* (8); *L'homme armé* (9, 10); *L'Indivisibilité*

(11); *Les droits de l'homme* (12); *L'Arsenal* (13); *La fraternité* (14); *Popin Court* (15); *Section Révolutionnaire* (16); *Les Invalides* (17); *Brutus* (18); *Finistere* (19); *La République Française* (20); *Les amis de la patrie* (21); *La Montagne* (22); *Marat* (23); *Les Sans Culottes* (24); *Le Museum* (25); *Les Lombards* (26); *Les Gravilliers* (27); *Les Marchés* (28); *La Halle au Bled* (29). Each sheet has the following heading (usually printed): *État des Indemnités dues à chacun des Membres du Comité Révolutionnaire de La Section de*—. Below are 7 columns headed *Émargement; Noms des Membres; Époques, de l'installation de chaque membre, de la cessation de chaque membre; Durée des fonctions; Sommes dues à chacun des Membres pour la durée de leurs fonctions; Observations.* Each sheet also is signed by the chief officials and bears the imprint of the sectional seal or stamp. Formerly among the Crawford MSS.

111. [R. 67978.] MÉLANGES LITTÉRAIRES.

Paper. ff. 422 × 264 mm. Late xviiith cent.

⁂ A number of pieces of verse and prose on small pieces of note-paper and a large number of cuttings from journals and other printed works pasted into a large note-book. A note on the cover says "*Ce Volume est l'extrait des objets des litératures que j'ai trouvées utiles à conserver.*" Formerly among the Crawford MSS.

112. [R. 67979.] CATALOGUE. **Catalogue de Journaux de la Révolution.**

Paper. ff. 87 + vi. 324 × 203 mm. xixth cent.

⁂ *Ex libris Henry Bourdin.* Afterwards with the Crawford MSS.

113. [R. 67980.] MARAT. **[Bibliographie.]**

Paper. ff. 31 + iv. 347 × 208 mm. xixth cent.

⁂ A typewritten list of books by or relating to Jean Paul Marat in the *Collection H. Bourdin, 36 Upper Berkeley Street.* Formerly among the Crawford MSS.

114. [R. 67981.] DELESCLUSE, CHARLES. [Notes.]

⁂ 2 *Agendas des commerce, de l'industrie et des besoins journaliers* for the years 1868-69, containing various notes by Charles Delescluse, ancien membre de la Commune de Paris, editor of *Le Réveil.* Formerly among the Crawford MSS.

115. [R. 67982.] RÉVOLUTION FRANÇAISE. **Le Diné du grénadier à Brest. Dialogue patriotique.**

Paper. ff. 12 (pp. 1-23). 160 × 111 mm. Late xviiith cent.

⁂ Formerly among the Crawford MSS.

116. [R. 67983.]. MIRABEAU. **Épitaphes de Mirabeau Riquetti l'aîné, mort le 2 avril, 1791.**

Paper. ff. 4. 190 × 122 mm. Late xviiith cent.

⁂ 18 epitaphs, all satirical. Formerly among the Crawford MSS.

117. [R. 67984.] PIÈCES DIVERSES.

⁂ A box of loose papers including: A letter from *Le général Dumourier aux trente administrateurs de la ville de Mons. Liège le 2 X*^{bre} *1792*; Fragments of a *Recueil concernant M. d'Orléans*, 1789-91, etc., ff. 17; Papers of *M. Micholet, avocat à Cuiseaux*, 1807-1809, etc., ff. 8; and various proceedings of the *Tribunal Révolutionnaire* in 1793 in the *Affaire de Clariere*, ff. 6. Formerly among the Crawford MSS.

ITALIAN MANUSCRIPTS.

1. (Crawford 1.) PETRARCA, FRANCESCO. [Sonetti e canzoni.] (f. 2^{v}) Prima uedi qual son che tu mi cheggi. . . . (f. 3) Uiri illustris atque poete celeberrimi Francisci Petrarce de Florentia, Rome Laureati, fragmentorum liber incipit feliciter. VOI CHASCOLTATE. . . . (f. 104^{v}) Incliti uatis Francisci petrarche uulgaria expliciunt metrica ditta que in laudem domine laurette dum uiuent amore dittante composuit. (f. 105) Incipiunt que post mortem domine Laurette Egregius uates Franciscus petrarcha metro uulgari composuit. IVO PENSANDO. . . . (f. 148) Egregii uatis celeberrimique poete Francisci petrarce ciuis honorabilis florentini et rome merito laureati gratissimorum eius dictorum uulgarium. Feliciter explicit hic libellus.

DANTE ALIGHIERI. [Canzoni.] (f. 149) Qui cominciano le cançoni distese del chiaro poeta Dante Allighieri di Firençe, nelle quali diuarie cose tractando nella prima la rigidita della sua donna con rigide rime dimostra. Cuius principio adsit feliciter spiritus almus. COSI NEL MIO PARLAR. . . . (f. 174) Beatissimi spetiosique huius voluminis adepto fieri laus sit et gloria deo, qui Laurentio Karoli di stroçis qui ipsum fieri fecit Pauloque scriptori eiusdem felicem tribuat uitam per tempora longiora. Amen.

Vell. ff. 175 + iv. 243 × 163 mm. xivth cent.

⁂ Three illuminated borders, two having portraits of Petrarch, the other a portrait of Dante, and their ladies. The Strozzi arms are emblazoned at the foot of f. 3 and of f. 105. Other former owners: M. Oswald Weigel, Leipzig (see *Nuove Correzioni al convito di Dante Allighieri proposte da Carlo Witte*, Lipsia, 1854, p. 8); Libri (Catalogue, 1859, No. 784).

2. (Crawford 2.) DANTE ALIGHIERI. [La Divina Commedia.] (f. 1) Voi chesiete deluerace lume. . . . (f. 2) Comincia la conmedia di dante alleghieri di firençe nella quale tratta delle

pene e punitione de uitii e de meriti e premii delle uirtu. Capitolo primo della prima parte di questo libro chiamato inferno, nel quale fa proemio a tutto il libro. Nel meçο del cammin. . . . (f. 36) Explicit liber inferni dantis alleghieri de florentia . deo Gratias. (f. 36ᵛ) Pero chesia piu frutto. . . . (f. 38) Comincia la seconda cantica di dante alleghieri di firençe, doue tratta di coloro che morirono in i stato di corretione. Il quale si chiama purgatoro. (f. 73ᵛ) Explicit liber purgatori dantis alleghieri de florentia . deo Gratias. Amen. (f. 74ᵛ) Ora soni a mo. . . . (f. 75) Comincia la terça cantica di dante alleghieri di firençe chiamata paradiso nel quale tratta della Gloria di paradiso et delli spiriti beati. (f. 110ᵛ) Explicit liber paradisi dantis alleghieri de florentia. deo Gratias. Amen. [Professione di fede.] (f. 111) [Io]scrissi gia damor. . . . (f. 112) [D]ieci da dio abbiamo. . . . (f. 113) Fattor del cielo. . . .

Paper. ff. 113 + ix. 282 × 210 mm. xvth cent.

⁂ In double columns. Former owners: *Tolomei Gucci;* Baron Seymour Kirkup (Sale catalogue, No. 1176).

3. **(Crawford 3).** GUIDO DA PISA. **[Istorie antiche.] (f. 1) Tuti li homini segondo che scrive Aristotile. . . .**

Paper. ff. 96 + i. 292 × 217 mm. Early xvth cent.

⁂ f. 94ᵛ. *Questo sono le concordanze dal quante Ystorie antiche composte e compilate per frate Guidone da Pisa dellordine di Carmellino optimo poeta, Escritte per me Gherardo di Giouanni Vanucci da Pisa habitante al presente in Vinegia a di vii dottobre mccccxi. . . .* f. i. *Questo libro e di Filippo de gli Alberti di firenze.* f. iᵛ. *Questo libro e di lorenzo strozi.* In 4 parts. Inserted are 10 ff., giving a version of the introduction and a portion of the above work, endorsed *Riscontro della copia con quella pubblicata dal Sigʳ Muji in Bologna nel 1824 di cui un esemplare si trova nella Magliabechiana.*

4. **(Crawford 4.)** SAN GIOVANNI CLIMACO. **[La scala del Paradiso.] (f. 1) In nomine domini iesu christi crucifixi. Incommincia il prologo sopra questo libro chiamato climaco. Questo libro compuose uno di sancti padri il cui nome foe gioanni abbate del monasterio del monte sinay, el qual libro. . . . (f. 1ᵛ) Un altro prologo. Io frate el qual ho preso. . . . (f. 2) Incommincia il libro di sancto gioanni climaco della fuga del mondo et del rinunciamento delle cose terrene Grado et capitulo primo dela sancta Scala. Dal buono. . . . (f. 141ᵛ) Qui commencia la uita di sancto gioanni abbate del monasterio del monte Sinai dicto scolastico il quale compose questa**

sancta schala. La qual uita in breuitade scrisse daniel humile monacho del monasterio de raithu. Quale fosse. . . . (f. 145) Finita la uita de sancto gioanni dicto climacho, commença la epistola del abbate gioanni duca de monaci di raithu mandata al mirabile abbate gioanni del monte sinai cognominato scolastico et ultimamente per questa scrittura nominato climaco. Supermirabile eguale. . . . (f. 145^{v}) Finisce la epistola del dicto abbate gioanni di raithu, commencia la epistola responsiua di gioanni scolastico abbate del monte sinai dicto climacho al dicto gioanni ducha de monaci del monasterio de Raithu. Gioanni a gioanni, receueti. . . .

Vell. ff. 146 + ii. 274 × 195 mm. xvth cent. Binding: *cuir bouilli* style.

⁂ 39 illuminated initials, with margins decorated with human figures, birds, and animals (some grotesque), flowers and foliage. On f. 2 is painted an allegorical representation of the world and of the steps to Heaven.

5. **(Crawford 5.)** VENEZIA. **(f. 3) Qui comincia la uenuta delle nobil famiglie, e Casade di Venetia, cioe quelle che uanno nel conseglio, e doue le uiene, e doue fu la sua origine, e quelli, che hanno edificato Chiese, e il mancar di alcune di quelle come qui sotto appar. (f. 118) Queste sono le nobili et antique case delli Tribuni uenuti a Venetia, e come antigamente se chiamauano con li soi cognomi.** [*A number of other lists follow.*] **(f. 132) Registro di Suppliche. Per occasione di Offerte fatte da diuerse Case alla Serenissima Republica nelli urgenti bisogni per la Guerra del Turco nel Regno di Candia, e altroue del Dominio Veneto, in ricompensa de quali sono state ascritte nel Libro della Nobiltà, come per le Parti registrate dietro esse Suppliche si uede.**

Paper. ff. 179. 298 × 212 mm. Circ. 1650. Fine xviith cent. binding (French?).

⁂ f. 1^{v}. *Serenissimo Augustino Barbarigo Venetorum Duce Imperante MCDX* (*sic*). Over 750 coats of arms emblazoned.

6. **(Crawford 6.)** MARCALDI, FRANCESCO. **(f. 6.) Al Sig^{r} Antonio Piasentino Sig^{r} mio sempre osseruandissimo. Hauendo fatto Ma^{co} Sig^{re} la presente narratione del Stato della Regina di Scotia, et del Principe suo figliuolo. . . . (f. 7^{v}) . . . Di V. S. Affettionatissimo Franc^{o} Marcaldi. (f. 8) Maria Regina di Scotia figliuola di Jacobo Quinto Re. . . .**

Paper. ff. 42 (10 blank). 205 × 140 mm. Late xvith cent.

7. (Crawford 7.) VIOLI, LORENZO. (f. 1) Al lo Ill^{mo} et Excell^{mo} Sig^{re} el Signor Duca di Ferrara. Singulare ueramente. . . . (f. 3) Epistola alli deuoti lettori della presente opera. Essendo dilectissimi in Christo Jesu. . . . (f. 5) Apologia per modo di dyalogo in defensione delle cose predicate dal R^{do} padre Fra Hyeronimo Sauonarola da Ferrara in Firenze. Epistola della atore di libro exortatoria alli deuoti lettori della presente opera viz. Estata sempre. . . . (f. 5^{v}) Exortatione al suo medesimo libretto. Che farai. . . . (f. 6) Proemio et contenuto del presente libro. Contiene el presente libretto uno dyalogho et disputa di xij giornate. . . . (f. o^{v}) Prefatione delli interlocutori di questo dyalogo che qui cominciano ad parlarsi in Sieme et Dydimo et il primo che dice. (f. 11^{v}) Prima Giornata, doue si tratta della venuta di fra hieronymo ad firenze. . . .

Paper. ff. 162. 237 × 132 mm. (some parts vary in size). Early xvith cent.

⁂ Possibly Violi's own manuscript, with many alterations in the text. Former owner: William Stuart, Aldenham Abbey. Sale (1875) No. 239: Old catalogue No. 334 (2). See below No. 58.

8. (Crawford 8.) VIOLI, LORENZO. (f. ii^{v}) Dialogho Sopra Di Fra Hyeronimo Sauonarola De Ferrara, Dove si tratta Della uenuta, et predicare suo in Firenze, De uarii casi, et diuersi accidenti contra Di quello Della uita, et Morte, Santita, Dottrina, prophetie, Miracoli, Delle Tribulatione prenuntiate a Firenze, et Ultimo Loco, Delle felicitá et gratie Promesse Da Dio alla Detta Citta Di Firenze, Et tal Dialogho, Diuiso In xiij giornate, é composto, fatto, et Ordinato Da Ser Lorenzo Violi Qual Hoggi i suoi figliuoli apresso Di Loro Tenghono, et posseghano, (f. 1) All Illustrissimo et Eccellentissimo Signore el Signore, Duca Di Ferrara. Singulare ueramente. . . .

Paper. ff. 502 + iii. 219 × 165 mm. xvith cent.

⁂ A copy of the above work (No. 7) *Ad Usum filiorum Dicti Laurentii.* The 3rd and 4th *Giornate* correspond with the 3rd *Giornata* of MS. 7. Bookplate of Aldenham Abbey. Stuart Sale No. 239: Old Catalogue No. 334 (3).

9. (Crawford 9.) VIOLI, LORENZO. (f. 1) Apologia per modo di Dialogo. . . . (f. 2) Exortatione . . . (f. 2^{v}) Proemio et contenuto del presente libro . . . (f. 3^{v}) Prefatione delli interlocutori . . . (f. 7^{v}) Prima giornata.

Paper. ff. 247. 227 × 166 mm. xvith cent.

⁂ f. 247^{v}. *Addi 27 di lug^{o} (?) del 78 postillai questo libro cauate dicte postille dal originale S^{r} Matthea Buonauiti.* Bookplate of Aldenham Abbey. Stuart Sale No. 239; Old catalogue No. 334 (4).

10. (Crawford 10.) ERCOLANI, FRA VINCENZO. **(f. 1) Lectera del padre fra Vincenzo Hercolani perugino del ordine de Predicatori quando era Priore nella minerua di Roma: scritta alli sua frati in San Marco di Firenze doue si racconta l'examina fatta sopra la doctrina di fra Girolamo et altre chose accadute a cio. La Dottrina Del R^{do}. P. fra Hyeronimo Sauonarola . . . (f. 35^{v}) . . . Valete. Di Roma alli 19 d'Agosto, 1559. Vro fra Vinc^{o} (herculani *added later*). No uoglio lasciare che la Statua. . . .**

Paper. ff. 39 + i. 216 × 157 mm. xvith cent.

⁂ f. i. *A uso di S^{r} Archangiola Viuuoli.* Vincent was successively bishop of Sarno (1569), Imola (1573) and Perugia (1579-1586). Bookplate of Aldenham Abbey. Stuart Sale No. 239; Old catalogue No. 334 (5).

11. (Crawford 11.) SAVONAROLA, GIROLAMO. **Officium Beati Hyeronimi Sauonarole.**

⁂ Now Latin MS. 407. A sixteenth-century MS., evidently written by one of the Violi. A small rough miniature of the Friar is prefixed to the second portion. Bookplate of Aldenham Abbey. Stuart Sale No. 239; Old catalogue No. 334 (6).

12. (Crawford 12.) DE IMITATIONE CHRISTI.

⁂ Now Latin MS. 406. A late fifteenth-century MS., containing books I.-III. At the foot of f. 4 are emblazoned the arms of the Rucellai of Florence. Pasted on the back is a sixteenth-century strip with the words *Del Amor di Giesù del Sauonarola.* Bookplate of Aldenham Abbey. Stuart Sale No. 239; Old catalogue No. 334 (7).

13. (Crawford 13.) SAVONAROLA, FRA GIROLAMO. **(Fra Pacifico Burlamacchi da Lucca.) (f. 1) Vita Del R^{do} et Beato Padre, Profeta, Vergine, et Martire, Fra Girolamo Sauonarola da Ferrara dello ordine de Predicatori della congregazione di Toscana; fatta et composta per un R^{do} Padre della sopradetta congregazione (fra Pacifico Burlamacchi da Lucca *added later*). (f. 3) Tauola de capitoli della vita . . . (f. 4) Tauola de Miracoli del seruo di Dio Fra Jeronimo et delli due Compagni suoi [i-cvii]. (f. 6^{v}) Tauola delle punizioni date dal Signore Dio sopra li persequtori del seruo di Dio frate Jeronimo [i-xxvii]. (f. 7^{v}) Tauola di notazioni**

et uisioni Reuelazioni a testimonii et fede. (ff. 8^{v}-28) [An alphabetical subject-index to the 'Vita.'] (f. 39, *o.n.* 1) Proemio nella vita, *etc.* Rex autem loquebatur cum Giezi . . . (f. 40, *o.n.* 2) Vita del R^{do} Padre fra Hieronimo, *etc.* Fu fra Girolamo Sauonarola per patria Padouano, per natione Ferrarese, per professione frate osseruate dellordine mendicate di San Domenico . . . (f. 124, *o.n.* 86) . . . Il fine della vita del Servo di Dio, Profeta, Vergine et Martire fra Girolamo Sauonarola da Ferrara; et Incomincia Il Trattato de Miracoli fatti da lui; et altre cose degne di memoria (*Miracoli i-xxxi, Punizioni i-xi, Notazioni i-iii*). Cap. primo uiz. i Proemio. A laude et gloria dello omnipotente dio . . . (f. 145, *o.n.* 107) . . . e certo sopra l'anima mia. Il fine. Copiata et terminata per me p. f. G. questo di xxx di novembre MDLxiiij a laude et gloria dello eterno Dio . . . (f. 145, *o.n.* 107) *Various quotations.* (f. 145^{v}, *o.n.* 107) Hynnus de Beato Hyeronimo Martire per Ioannem Franciscum Picum Mirandule comitem. Quo te, sancte Pater, . . . (f. 146, *o.n.* 108) Marci Antonii Flammignii Epigramma. Dum fera flamma. . . . Franciscus Ferrinus Ferrariensis ad Florentiam: S. Alma Citta che al ferro. . . . (f. 146^{v} *o.n.* 108) Capitolo in laude de vittoriosissimi Martiri Ieronimo, Dom^{co} et Silu^{ro}. O fonte di bontà che d'alta cima . . . (f. 149^{v}, *o.n.* 111) Ciasche d uno esulti et canti . . . (f. 151, *o.n.* 113) Diui Ieronimi Virginis et Martiris usti Epicedium per R^{dum} D. Antonium Petreium canonicum Florentinum et protonotarium Apostolicum. Testis fidelis, Tusciae . . . (f. 151^{v}, *o.n.* 113) Ancora nella citta di Firenze nel MDXLV fu un giovanne . . . (*Miracoli xxxii-xcv. Testimonie i-viiij, Epistole i-xix, Punizioni xii-xxvij, Brevi i-viii, Apparizioni i-xvj, Laude ii-iv, Notazioni et Profezie, i-v, Fede ii, etc.*) (f. 192^{v}, *o.n.* 154) Copia di una lettera di Girolamo Beniuieni scritta a Papa Clemente VII . . . (*end missing*). (f. 197, *o.n.* 160) Que se nunc tanto Ferraria iactat alumno . . . (*beginning missing*). (f. 200^{v}, *o.n.* 163) Copia di due lettere di B. fra Francesco di Paula in testimonianza del Beato fra Girolamo al molto Mag^{co} e virtuoso Signore mio Messer Simone della Limena mio benefattore in monte Alto . . . (f. 201^{v}. *o.n.* 164) Prophetice Solutiones Georgii Bonigni ordinis Minorum. Georgii Placidi prophetice Solutiones ad Ubertinum Risalitum. Contendisti a me. . . . (f. 208, *o.n.* 171) . . . honor et gloria. Amen. Copiata da uno exemplare stampato in firenze lanno MCCCCLxxxxvij daprile per S^{r} Lorenzo Morgiani. Ioannis Francisci Pici

Mirandule opusculum De Sententia excommunicationis iniusta pro Hieronimi Sauonarole uiri Profete innocentia . . . (f. 213$^{\text{v}}$, *o.n.* 175) Narrazione e discorsa circa la grande contradizione fatta contro lopere del R$^{\text{do}}$ Padre fra Hieronimo al tempo di Papa Pagolo iiii$^{\text{o}}$ per condennarla come eretica, sed non preualuerunt. La dottrina . . . (f. 222, *o.n.* 184) Defensione fatta dal Ven$^{\text{do}}$ P. M$^{\text{ro}}$ Pagolino Bernardini da Lucca in presentia delli R$^{\text{mi}}$ Card$^{\text{li}}$ della Inquisizione et della congregatione sopra la sana dottrina del R$^{\text{do}}$ P. fra Ierolamo da Ferrara. R$^{\text{mi}}$ et Ill$^{\text{mi}}$ Monsig$^{\text{ri}}$: Poi che per la solita benignita . . . (f. 227$^{\text{v}}$. *o.n.* 189) Revelazioni fatte al R$^{\text{do}}$ fra Bartolomeo da Faenza doppo la Morte del servo di Dio fra Girolamo, in piu uolte. Essendo il R$^{\text{do}}$ Padre . . . (f. 230, *o.n.* 192) Miracolo xcvi. Essendo il Padre fra Bartolomes da Faenza a fiesole . . . (*Miracoli xcvi-cvij*).

Paper. ff. 250 (12 blank) + ii (vellum). 274 × 195 mm. xvith cent.

⁎⁎⁎ *Miracolo cvi* is dated 1570. ff. 151$^{\text{v}}$-192$^{\text{v}}$ contain copies of many interesting documents and letters relating to Savonarola. Former owners: (f. 2) *Del Monasterio di Santa Caterina da Siena in firenze*; bookplate of Aldenham Abbey. Stuart Sale No. 239; Old catalogue No. 334 (1). See below, No. 59.

14. (Crawford 14.) FIRENZE. (ff. 1-64) Priorista Fiorentino di Giuliano de Ricci sino all' Anno MDLXXXXVI, con un aggiunta sino all'Anno del Signore MDCVI. (f. 2) Priorista, etc. (p. 1) Al Mag$^{\text{co}}$. Mes$^{\text{e}}$. Michel Agnolo Sermartelli in Firenze. Le Cortesie che . . . (p. 109) Aggiunta al Priorista di Giuliano de Ricci dall' Anno 1531, fino all'Anno 1606, nel quale . . . (ff. 71-274) Cittadinario Fiorentino ò uero Famiglie Fiorentine, aggregate in diuersi tempi alla Cittadinanza Fiorentina. (p. 1) Nota dei Gonfaloni . . . (p. 3) Leggi e Costituzioni per i Cittadini Fiorentini. Sotto il nome . . . (p. 10) Leggi per i Cittadini alle Porte, loro Ufizi . . . (p. 12) Notizia intorno al uestire degl' Vomini . . . (p. 13) Descrizione de Cittadini alle Porte, nell'Anno 1554 . . . (p. 17) Cassieri alli Porte . . . (p. 17) Veditori, cioe Stradieri alla Gabella . . . (p. 19) De Cittadini Abili alli Ufizzi . . . (pp. 23-395) *Notes on Florentine families, alphabetically arranged.* (pp. 403-406) Nota di alcuni che non sono stati vinti per Cittadini nel Consiglio del Dugento. A di 16 Agosto 1703 . . .

Paper. ff. 283 + iv. 282 × 195 mm. Early xviiith cent.

⁎⁎⁎ Old MS. No. 362.

15. (Crawford 15.) FEDERICI, FEDERICO. Scrutinio della Nobiltà Ligustica composto da Federico Federici nobile Genovese. . . . (p. 2) L'autore a chi legge. Io professo una verità. . . . (p. 3) Scrutinio della Nobiltà delle Famiglie, che ora sono al governo della Republica di Genova. Libro Primo. Dacché si. . . .

Paper. ff. 227 + v. 298 × 195 mm. xviiith cent.

⁂ f. 1. *Del. Cav. Torrielli, Genova 1830*, also the note *vedi Spotorno Storia Letteraria della Liguria. Vol.* 3^{o}, *pag. 55.*

16. (Crawford 16.) NAPOLI. (f. 1) Raccolta di molte famiglie, ed assieme di molti fatti accaduti si in Napoli, come altrove. (f. 2) Tavola delle Famiglie. (f. 5) Tavola di molti fatti successi. (p. 1) Ametrano dei Duchi di santo Donato. Da pochi anni . . . (p. 237) Di D. Giacomo Caracciolo. Nell'anno 1580 . . .

Paper. ff. 227 + ii. 295 × 210 mm. xviiith cent.

17. (Crawford 17.) ARME MILANESI, etc.

Paper. ff. 366 + vii. 306 × 228 mm. xviiith cent.

⁂ Over 8000 roughly drawn and emblazoned coats of arms, chiefly Italian. Pasted on a flyleaf is a rough drawing of a coat of arms with the legend *Arma stabilita del Arcivescuo di Milano Monsig*^{r}. *Carlo Gaettano Stampa 1737 eleto cardinale lano 1739 A. 23 Feb*^{o}.

18. (Crawford 18.) NAPOLI, etc. (f. 1) Raguaglio di taluni funesti avvenimenti accaduti in Napoli, e altre città d'Italia. Raccolti, e qui descritti nell'anno 1781. (f. 2) Indice. (f. 3) Prefazione. Questi qui descritti . . . (f. 4, *o.p.* 1) D. Maria d'Avalos Gesualdo Principessa di Venosa, e D. Fabrizio Carafa Duca d'Andria. Ecco una lagrimevole tragedia . . . (f. 8^{v}, *o.p.* 10) D. Giovanna d'Aragona Piccolimini Duchessa d'Amalfi et D. Antonio Bologna. Il barbero . . . (f. 14, *o.p.* 21) D. Violante Cardona Carafa Duchessa di Palliano, e D. Marcello Capece. A proposito . . . (f. 19, *o.p.* 31) D. Giovanni Carafa Duca di Palliano, il Cardinal Carlo, suo fratello, nepoti di Paolo IV, e D. Leonardo de Cardines, loro infelice fine. Narrato dunque avendo . . . (f. 24, *o.p.* 41) D. Giacomo Sanseverino Conte della Saponara, e due suoi fratelli fatti avvelenare da D. Cintia Dentice loro Zia. (f. 26, *o.p.* 45) D. Giulia Caracciolo, e Gualtieri Conjugi fatti uccidere da' suoi fratelli. Non sempre la ragione . . . (f. 29, *o.p.* 51) D. Vincenzo Caracciolo feudatario di Melicuccà per violenza in amore, decapitato. Il delitto d'amore . . . (f. 32, *o.p.* 57) D. Niccola Antonio Brancaccio

decapitato per salire dalla sua Innamorata. Ecco dunque un'altro . . . (f. 35, *o.p.* 63) D. Giacomo Caracciolo come parricida per cagion d'amore, fu condannato a morte infame. Fra le passioni . . . (f. 38, *o.p.* 69) D. Marcantonio Palagano per delitto amoroso commeso in luogo claustrale, decapitato. Coll'amore . . . (f. 40, *o.p.* 73) D. Beatrice Moccia Principessa d'Anchise uccisa dal Marito per falso sospetto d'amorosa corrispondenza. Dice il Proverbio . . . (f. 41, *o.p.* 75) D. Elena del Tufo innocentemente dal di lei Consorte ammazzata, creduta adultera. Non senza le replicate . . . (f. 43, *o.p.* 79). D. Isabella de Medici e D. Eleanora di Toledo Principesse di Toscana, loro tragico morte. (f. 46, *o.p.* 85) Bianca Cappello divenuta Gran Duchessa di Toscana, sue stravaganti vicende, e volontaria morte. Quanto vari . . . (f. 53, *o.p.* 99) Maddalena de Rossi Antinori, et Gio. Battista Cavalcanti amanti, ambidue uccisi. Vien dominato. . . .

Paper. ff. 56 + ii. 208 × 147 mm. Late xviiith cent.

⁂ f. 56 (p. 105). *Fine. Io Carlo Bristing.* Bookplate of the Earl of Guilford.

19. (Crawford 19.) ROMA. (ff. 1-34^v) Galleria delle famiglie nobili di Roma. (f. 2) Il Sig. Bernardo de Conti Berardi Caporio al lettore. Fu costume. . . . (f. 34, *o.n.* 32) Indice. (ff. 35-50^v) Annali de Ludouico Monaldesco. (f, 36, *o.n.* 34) Al curioso lettore. Dimostro una Copia dell' Annali del Monaldesco di Oruieto simile ad un Diamante . . . (f. 37, *o.n.* 35) Annali, *etc.* Io Ludouico di Bonconte Monaldesco . . . (ff. 51-102^v) [Famiglie nobili et antiche di Roma]. (f. 51, *o.n.* 49) Al correre lettore. Queste famiglie di Roma . . . (*a classified list of noble families is given*). (f. 57, *o.n.* 53) Famiglie, *etc.* Orsina. Diuerse sono state . . . (ff. 103-206^v) Descrittioni delle famiglie Papali che hanno fermata la loro sede in Roma. (f. 104, *o.n.* 102) Della famiglia Farnese. La famiglia Farnese secondo . . . (ff. 207-210^v) Series, siue Catalogus illustrium et nobilium familiarum Romanorum quae hinc inde sunt recolecta ex uariis libris antiquis et modernis a D. Guilielmo Cardello Romano tempore Martini Papa et Sigismundi Cæsaris quae notauit in suo manuscripto De Familiis Illustribus Italiae Fanusius Campanus.

SIENA. (ff. 212-221) Della nobiltà di Siena (*alphabetically arranged*). (f. 222, *o.n.* 220) Case nobili, *etc.* (f. 222^v) Case che si sono nobilitate doppo l'anno 1360. (f. 223, *o.n.* 221) Ruollo delle famiglie di Siena e suo contado estinte dall 1400 al 1700.

ROMA. (f. 237, *o.n.* 235) **Bussula officialium populi Romani tempore Pontificatus Urbani VIII Anno eius decimo septimo duratura per annos duos incipiente Kalend. Januarii MDCXXXX usque et per totum mensem Decembris MDCXXXXI, ordinata et conclusa ab infrascriptis coram Excellentissimo et Rev^{mo} D. Antonio Card. Barberino camerario et. . . .** (f. 254, *o.n.* 252) **Indice.**

Paper. ff. 255 + iii. 259 × 189 mm. xviiith cent.

20. (Phillipps 6072.) [R. 53156.] MEDICI. **Vite degli Huomini di Casa Medici.** (f. 2) **Quantunque mi si possa . . .**

Paper. ff. 642 + ii. 255 × 182 mm. xviiith cent.

⁂ Old Nos. *100, 717.*

21. (Crawford 21.) MISCELLANEA. **[Libro di istorie e di morte.]** (p. 1) **[Vita e morte di Francesco di Simone Stabile, detto Cecco d'Ascoli] La morte di Cecco d'Ascoli . . .** (p. 15) **Racconto della Sig^{ra} Bianca Cappello, come diuenne Gran Duchessa di Toscana e della morte di Piero Buonauenturi suo marito, et altri annessi. Negl' anni andati . . .** (p. 38) **Abiura Sentenza e Morte di Diacinto Centini seguita in Roma li 23 Aprile 1635. Sabato mattina . . .** (p. 60) **Vita, costumi e morte di Pier Maria da Medici, con la morte ancora del infelice Rossina, seguita in Firenze, del mese di Marzo l'anno 1649. Non si . . .** (p. 81) **Morte della Signora Caterina Canacci seguita nella Città di Firenze il di 31 Decembre 1638. Non e chi . . .** (p. 96) **Vita, miracoli, profezzie e morte del buon seruo di Dio Bartolomeo Carosi, alias Brandano e volgarmente chiamato il pazzo di Giesu Christo. Cap. 1. L'anno dopo . . .**

Paper. ff. 80 + ii. 260 × 193 mm. xviith cent.

⁂ f. 1. *Questo Libro di Istorie e di Domenico M^a. Mariani.*

22. (Crawford 22.) LIBRO DI ARME.

Paper. ff. 304 + iii. 429 × 282 mm. xviiith cent.

⁂ 4136 coats of arms of Italian cities and families.
On cover: *Questo libro contiene 101 armi della citta in colore.*
3258 do. di famiglie do.
777 do. do. a contorno.

23. (Crawford 23.) FIRENZE. **Priorista della Libreria di Vincenzio del Senatore Giovanni Giraldi.** (f. 2) **Tavola delle cose . . .** (f. 9) **La citta di Firenze in . . .** (f. 245) **MCCXV. Estratto d'un libro antico di Giouan. Simone Tornabuoni. In questo**

tempo . . . (f. 249^{v}) Ghibellini della citta di Firenze. (f. 251^{v}) Cittadini condennati da Arrigo Imperadore l'anno 1311. (f. 253^{v}) Nota di . . . admoniti, 1357. (f. 254) Nota . . . di confinati, 1434. (f. 260) [Monitione dell' Imperadore Arrigo. . . .]. (f. 265) Stratto delle casate del priorista. (f. 277) [Raguaglio di delli casate, con il tempo . . .]

Paper. ff. 331 + ii. 392 × 277 mm. Late xvith cent.

⁂ The lists include the chief officials of Florence for the period 1282-1532, and there are copied out a number of documents, some relating to reform, for the period 1530-1532. Bookplate, *Ex lib. Eq. Jo. Giraldi.*

24. (Crawford 24.) COLLECTANEA GENEALOGICA. [Medici.] (f. 5) Dall'Istoria MS. delle famiglie Fiorentine di Pietro Monaldi, Nobil Fiorentino, scritta l'anno 1607. La famiglia de Medici. (f. 11) Discorso MS. di Scipione Ammirato. Coloro a quali . . . (f. 19) [Lists of Medici who were Senators, held offices or belonged to knightly orders, etc.] (f. 21) Gonfalonieri e Priori della famiglia di Medici (1291-1531). (f. 23) Osseruazioni varie. La citta di Firenze . . . [Strozzi]. (f. 25) Varie sono l'opinioni. . . . (f. 25^{v}) [Notes on the Strozzi, their wealth, etc., together with lists of men of letters, soldiers, lay and ecclesiastical officials, members of knightly orders, etc.]. (f. 33) Dall'Istoria MS. delle famiglie Fiorentine . . . (f. 37) Gonfalonieri e Priori della famiglia degli Strozzi (1283-1527). (f. 41) Albero delli Strozzi. [Salviati.] (f. 85) (Albero delli Salviati.) (f. 86) Gonfalonieri et Priori della famiglia de Salviati (1297-1524). (f. 88) [Lists of Senators, members of knightly orders, etc.]. (f. 90) Salviati e Caponsacchi. Dal Istoria MS. della famiglie Fiorentine . . . (f. 91^{v}) Discorso MS. di Scipione Ammirato . . . [Miscellanea.] (f. 96) *Letter from* Il Duca di Bracciano, *dated* Roma 16 Mag°, 1693. (f. 98) Del principio et origine della serenissima casa Orsina . . . (f. 104) Albero de Signori Orsini di Bracciano da Papa Nicola 3° . . . (f. 111) [Chart of the descendants of Arminius, King of Saxony]. (f. 112, *o.n.* 1) Della famiglia d'Aquino. Aquino e città del Lazio . . . (f. 186) Due sono senza dubbio . . . (f. 190) La famiglia Giudice uenuta in Napoli . . . (f. 202) *Letter from* Don Antonio de Ubilla y Medina, *dated* San Lorenzo 29 de Nouembre de 1699. (f. 203) Don Carlos, etc., Por quanto teniendo . . . (f. 205) Copia de Decreto de S.M. que vaso a la Camera de Castilla, *dated* Madrid a 23 de Diciembre de 1697. (f. 207 *o.n.* 1) Notitie della nobilissima famiglia Falletti. E cosa . . . (f. 221) Correzzioni al discorso della famiglia Caracciolo . . . raccolte da Carmine

Nicolo Caracciolo Duca di Castel di Sangro, contenuti in una lettera da lui scritta al Rev^{mo} Padre Fra Girolamo Maria di S. Anna, Carmelitano scalzo.

Paper. ff. 222 + x. Various sizes. Late xviith cent.

⁂ With the collection are *Marchionis Vercellini Mariae Vicecomitis Stemma* (printed), and a printed copy of proceedings at Milan, April 6, 1682. Inserted are five letters from *Carmine Nicolo Caracciolo* to *Giacomo Guglielmo Im Hoff.* The MS. gives the arms (emblazoned) of the Medici, Strozzi, and Salviati. ff. 45, 85, 108-111 are folded charts.

25. **(Crawford 25.)** GROSSI, MARC' ANTONIO. **Fasti delle famiglie nobili di Genova. (raccolti dall' avv^{to} Marc' Antonio Grossi, Genovese** *added*)**. (f. 1) Di Casa Axeretta. Si legge . . . (f. 272) Indice.**

Paper. ff. 277 + iv. 313 × 217 mm. xviith cent.

⁂ Various coats of arms sketched in ink.

26. **(Crawford 26.)** MEDICI. **Genealogia della real casa de Medici. (f. 3) Indice. (f. 7** *o.n.* **1) Origine e Descendenza della Casa de Medici Discorso e Introduzione all' Istoria. Se antichità . . . (f. 276) Vita e Morte del Gran Principe Ferdinando, Primogenito del Gran Duca Cosimo Terzo de Medici. Nacque il Gran Principe. . . .**

Paper. ff. 293 + iii. 295 × 212 mm. xviiith cent.

27. **(Crawford 27.)** RACCONTI E DOCUMENTI VARII. **(f. 1) Politica de PP. Gesuiti. (f. 15^{v}) Vita di Curzio Marignolli, Gentiluomo Fiorentino e sua vendetta seguita L'anno 1600. (f. 31^{v}) Vendetta del Sig. Niccolo Compagni, Gentiluomo fiorentino. L'anno 1600. (f. 38^{v}) Vita d' Andree Gabburri cittadino fiorentino e caso accadutoli con sua morte alli 27 7^{bre}, 1608. (f. 49) Morte di Pietro Paolo Stibbi dalle Pomarancie seguita il di 29 Lug^{o}, 1634. (f. 56) Vita e morte di Vinc Serselli e Matteo Santini seguita in uia Ghibellina. L'anno 1577. (f. 69^{v}) Vita e morte della Caterina Canacci e di Bartolo suo figliolo seguita l'anno 1638 in firenze. (f. 78) Manifesto della Contessa Diana Zambeccari Bolognese con la morte del Cav^{e}. Sampieri di S. Gio. seguita il di 6 Lug^{o}, 1671. (f. 108) Caso accaduto in Siena nella Persona della Sig^{ra} Fuluia Piccolomini ne Griffoli non molti anni sono. (f. 125) Vita e morte della Caterina Picchena ne Buondelmonti seguita l'anno 1658 in fondo di Torre a Volterra. (f. 142^{v}) Ragguaglio dell' Amori**

del Ré di Francia. (f. 183) Morte della Gineura Morelli detta la Rossina, Cortigiana fiorentina seguita in Firenze a 28 Marzo, 1649. (f. 195) Racconto di quanto segui nell' Esequzione Capitale fatta in Pistoia la mattina di 21 Agosto 1663 nelle persone del Dottore Jacopo Guelfi da Soignano, Simone Pittanti, Perugino, Mario Fanini da Bozzo e Biribarotto da Marliana. (f. 205) Vita di Don Vaiano Vaiani da Modigliana. (f. 233) Sommario del Processo e sentenza fatta publicamente in S. Croce il di 29 Aprile 1640 contro Don Vaiano Vaiani da Modigliana. (f. 247) Abiurazione di Vaiano di Filippo Vaiani. (f. 249) Morte di Francesco Cenci, della Lucrezia sua consorte, e di Beatrice e Jacopo suoi figliuoli seguita in Roma alli 9 7^{bre}, 1598. (f. 265) Congiura seguita in Firenze l'anno 1546 contro Gino Capponi. (f. 268) Sommario del Processo fatto contro il Sig. Jacopo Centino e compagni condennati a morte. (f. 280) Abiura di Cecco d'Ascoli e sua morte seguita in Firenze l'anno 1328 a di 15 di 7^{bre}. (f. 293) Vero e sincero racconto di quanto segui nella morte di Gio. Batt^{a} Caualcanti e della Maria Maddalena del Rosso seguita in Firenze il giorno delli 24 Mag^{o}, 1652. (f. 311) Notizie curiose intorno alla uita di Francesco Ruspoli, fiorentino. (f. 322) Copia di lettera scritta il Sig. Simone Orsino al Sig^{re} Abb^{e} Bardi di tutto il seguito fra il Sig. Marchese Bartolomei Sig. del Nero e altri interessati nella lite che fecero di Carneuale l'anno 1665 di Gennaio. (f. 327) Inuestitura di Carlo Quinto fatta al Duca Alessandro de Medici dello stato di Firenze l'anno del Nostro Signore Giesu Cristo, 1530. (f. 334) Contratto di matrimonio fra Alessandro de Medici, Duca Primo di Firenze e Madame Margherita d'Austria, figliola naturale di Carlo Quinto. (f. 341) Indice.

Paper. ff. 324 + viii. 292 × 209 mm. Circ. 1700.

⁂ ff. 91-107 missing. Former owner: H. Wellesley.

28. (Crawford 28.) LIBRO DI ARME.

Paper. ff. 212 + ii. 279 × 193 mm. xvith-xviiith cent.

⁂ A large number of crudely drawn and coloured arms of Italian families. Inserted are a number of leaves of a xvith century MS. giving the arms of various royal and noble families of Europe. (f. 1) Arms of the Sforza family. Other owners: *Pietro e Giuseppi Vallardi.*

29. (Crawford 29.) VENEZIA. Cronologia ovvero Breve Notitia in cui si ragiona dell' origine e principio dell' inclita città di Venezia, del suo governo diverso in più tempi de Dogi e della loro elezione parimente diversa in più tempi di tutti le famiglie,

tanto quelle di detta città quanto quelle che da diverse parti vi derivorono; con esporre anche la loro Arma ò Casata; similmente i Privilegi concesseli da Pontefici Imperatori e Rè contiene due Indici: il primo contiene il registro delle famiglie, il secondo ciò che nella presente Cronologia si trova di curioso e dilettevole. (f. 2 *o.n.* 1) Qui comenza la cronica della Mag^{ca} citta di Venetia et come la fu edificada et in che tempo et per chi. . . .

Paper. ff. 358 + iii. 283 × 204 mm. xviiith cent.

⁂ Numerous coats of arms emblazoned. Stamped *Ex M* (. . .) *V.* CARD. GENTILI (*i.e.* Antoine Xavier Gentili, created Cardinal in 1731).

30. **(Crawford 30.)** MISCELLANEA. **[Libro di istorie e di morti.] Racconti di Alcuni casi occorsi in diversi tempi. (f. 2) Sentenza contro Cecco d'Ascoli data l'anno D.S. MCCCXXIIIX, *etc.* (f. 13) Morte del Padre Fra Girolamo Savonarola da Ferrara seguita in Firenze a di 23 di Maggio del 1498, nella Piazza del Palazzo de Signori. (f. 33) Vita e Morte di Vincenzio Serzelli Seguita in Firenze nell'anno 1517. (f. 41) Caso accaduto a Niccolò Compagni e sua vendetta, 1600. (f. 48) Abiura, sentenza e morte del Sig^{re} Jacinto Centini e suoi Compagni seguita in Roma alli 23 di Aprile, 1635. (f. 59) Racconto delli amori del Duca Jacopo Salviati con La Caterina Canacci, e morte della medesima seguita in Firenze gli 31 Decembre, 1638. (f. 67) Prosperità infelice di Francesco Canonici, detto Mascambruno sotto Datario, e Auditore di Ruota d'Innocenzio Decimo, 1646. (f. 92) Vita di Don Vaiano Vaiani da Modigliana, 1648. (f. 112) Morte di Gio. Battista Cavalcanti e della Maddalena del Rosso Antinori seguita l'anno 1652, la notte de 24 Mag^{o}. (f. 124) Vita e morte della Caterina Picchena ne Buondelmonti seguita in fondo di Torre a Volterra, l'anno 1658. (f. 134) Succinta relazione nella quale si da Ragguaglio della nascita e vita di Francesco e Giuseppi Borri da Milano che al presente si ritiene in perpetua carcere in Castel' S. Angiolo di Roma, 1659.**

Paper. ff. 150 + ii. 283 × 204 mm. Late xviith cent.

⁂ Old sale No. 1519. Former owner: *D.M.C. Augst, 1841.*

31. **(Crawford 31.)** INSEGNE NOBILI DELL' ILLIRICO.

Paper. ff. 180 + iii. 248 × 182 mm. Late xviith cent.

⁂ 172 full-page drawings of arms. The Matheikovich arms emblazoned. Two letters with seals stamped in red wax, one of D. Antonius Damianus

Ohmuchievich Gargurich, Comes de Tughegl, the other, dated *Ragusii die xxx mensis Junii MDCLXXXXV*, signed by D. Philippus, liber baro de Saponara (?)

32. (Crawford 32.) MISCELLANEA HISTORIAE ITALIAE. (f. 1. *p.* 1) **Relatione curiosa delle famiglie di Roma. Della famiglia Orsina. Quattro sono . . . (f. 55, *p.* 1) Supplimento della Relatione delle famiglie di Roma. (f. 83) Discorso de Cardinali in particolare. Le fattioni . . . (f. 128) Alcuni Prelati che sono in Riga di esser Cardinali. (f. 135, *p.* 1) Discorso sopra il Papa ed il sacro Collegio de Il^ri Cardinali hoggi viventi dell'anno 1680, mese novembre. Il Capo . . . (f. 161) [Various notes on Cardinals]. (f. 165) Relatione della Corte di Roma fatta d'all' Ecc^mo Sig^re Marchese di Bigliore di Lucerna, stato Amb^re Staord^rio d'ubedienza per L. A. R. di Sauvia, appresso il Pontefice Clemente X°, Anno 1671. Mentre andauo. . . .**

Paper. ff. 215 + vii. 198 × 139 mm., and various. Circ. 1700.

33. (Crawford 33.) COSIMO DELLA RENA. **Notizie istoriche di Famiglie Nobili Fiorentine compilate dal capitano Cosimo della Rena, Accademico Fiorentino e della Crusca. (f. 4) Indice. (f. 9, *o.n.* 1) Acciaiuoli. Varie sono l'opinioni. . . .**

Paper. ff. 389 + ii. 318 × 212 mm. Late xviith cent.

⁂ f. 3. Note on author signed *C.A.M.* Also see f. 84 *o.n.*

34. (Crawford 34.) GIANNONE, PIETRO. **(f. 1) Trattato de Rimedii contro le Icommuniche Inualide scritto da Pietro Giannone, giureconsulto ed avvocato Napoletano in occasione delle Censure scelminate contro di lui dal Vicario di Napoli, per auer fatto quiui imprimere La Storia Ciuile di quel regno senza sua licenza. (f. 2) Parte 1. Dell'inualidità delle Censure . . . (f. 156) (Parte Seconda) Qual forza . . .**

Paper. ff. 234 + iii. 264 × 190 mm. xviiith cent.

⁂ See *Opere postume di Pietro Giannone* [1760], I, Apologia dell' Istoria Civile di Napoli, pp. 1-117, 217-267. Varies greatly. See below MS. 35.

35. (Crawford 35.) GIANNONE, PIETRO. **(f. 1) (Trattato de Rimedii, *etc.*) Risposta del D^r Pietro Giannone alla Critica . . . (f. 182) Abiura del D^r Pietro Giannone fatta in Torino die 24 Mensis Martii 1738. Attentis literis . . . (f. 196) Per il D^r Pietro Giannone contro il Vescovo di Castellaneta . . . (f. 205^v) Osseruazioni sopra la scrittura inuiolata. Difesa della Real**

Giurisdizione intorno a Regii dritti sù la Chiesa Collegiata di S. Maria la Cattolica della Città di Reggio.

Paper. ff. 222 + xi. 264 × 190 mm. xviiith cent.

⁂ See above MS. 34. For the *Trattato*, etc., see *Opere postume*, etc., I, pp. 119-138, 205-216, 138-205, 277-303, though many differences; for the *Abiura*, etc., see *op. cit.*, II, pp. 151-160.

36. (Crawford 36.) MISCELLANEA. (f. 1, *o.n.* 2) Diffinizione delle controuersie tra la Casa Vrsini e tra la Casa Colonna su le precedenze del soglio. (f. 13, *o.n.* 12) Differenze tra Papa Alessandro VII et il Re di Francia per la causa del Cardinal di Retz, Arciuescouo di Parigi. (f. 18, *o.n.* 17) Conuersione della Regina di Suezia, renuncia del Regno, ritiramento in Fiandra, abiuratione segreta, suo uiaggio in Roma, professione publica della fede in Ispruch, sua lettera al Pontefice, parole di S.S. in Concistoro, Riceuimento della Regina nel Vaticano, cresima per mano del Papa con aggiunta de nomi, virtù e di fetti della Regina e uigilanza del Papa à suo beneficio. (f. 56, *o.n.* 53) Processo e Condanna di Sor Christina Romanes di Palermo Strega conuinta del S. Offizio. (f. 64, *o.n.* 61) Interesse de Principi Christiani per impedire la Successione del Delfino alla Corona di Spagna. (f. 96, *o.n.* 89) Ragioni della Casa d'Austria sopra la monarchia di Spagna.

Paper. ff. 130. 257 × 197 mm. xviiith cent.

37. (Crawford 37). MONTECCO, FORTVNDIO ERODOTO. Notitie d'alcune famiglie popolari della città e regno di Napoli diuenute per richezze ô dignità riguardeuoli del Sig^{r} Fortundio Erodoto Montecco. (f. 2, *o.n.* 1) Della famiglia Ametrano de Duchi di S. Donato. Da pochi anni. . . .

Paper. ff. 393 + ii. 248 × 180 mm. Early xviiith cent.

⁂ f. 1. *Ex libris V. I. D*^{tris} *Nicolai Marie Pollano die 22 Aprilis 1726.* Bookplate, *Biblioteca Conte di Aquila.*

38. (Crawford 38.) CLEMENTE XIII, PAPA. Riflessioni di un Portughese sopra il Memoriale presentato da P.P. Giesuiti alla Santità di Papa Clemente XIII felicemente regnante, esposte in una lettera scritta ad un amico in Roma. In Lisbona. Anno 1758, con licenza de superiori. (f. 147^{v}) Bolla di Benedetto XIV. Dilecto filio nostro Francisco I.R.C. Diacono Cardinali de Saldanha. . . .

Paper. ff. 154 + iv. 244 × 175 mm. xviiith cent.

⁂ f. 1. *Ex libris Abbatis D. Didaci Christiani.*

39. (Crawford 39.) MISCELLANEA IESUITICA. (f. 1) Descrittione per Instruttione de Prencipi della maniera con la quale si gouernano li Padri Gesuiti, fatta da Persona Religiosa e totalmente spassionata. Che la Religione . . . (f. 33) Risposta alla descrittione fatta contro li Padri Gesoiti. (f. 34) Chi sia . . . (f. 63) Iesuitographia de Ordinis Iesuitici institutis ac moribus, de rebus gestis in officina Iesuitica. (f. 64) Opulentas Ciuitates . . . (*Latin verse*). (f. 72) Monita secreta seu Instructio Vulpina Iesuitica. (f. 73) Dum Christianus . . .

Paper. ff. 104 + ii. 247 × 183 mm. xviiith cent.

40. (Crawford 40.) BOLOGNA. I Nomi Casate et Insegne delli Magnifici, Signori Giudice et Consoli. (f. 2) Volendo la Honoranda Vniuersità de i Mercanti della Generosa et Illustre Città di Bologna tener memoria. . . .

Vell. ff. 48. 307 × 210 mm. Early xviith cent.

⁂ 558 emblazoned coats of arms of the magistrates, etc., for the following half-yearly periods, 1576 (2nd half), 1577-1606, 1607 (1st half, 2 series), 1607 (2nd half), 1608-13, 1614, (1st half), 1615 (2nd half), 1616, 1617 (1st half), 1620 (2nd half), 1621, 1622 (1st half), 1631, 1632. The arms include the papal arms, the arms of Bologna, also of *Sr. Gioanni Balzani, conservatore; Sr. Paolo Abelli, conservatore; Mag^{us} D. Dom^{us} Baldinus Nottaius, conservatore.* There is a plan and view of Bologna, also many other paintings. Several folios are signed *G.G.*, others *G.*; and in the margin of ff. 46, 47^{v} and 48 is written *Bernardino Sangiouanni fece'*. f. 6^{v}. A record of senatorial proceedings on 17 June, 1580, signed *Annibal Aurius Secr^{s}.* ff. 46^{v}, 47. Note on proceedings after the plague in Bologna in 1630. Former owner: *Count Louis Apponyi Sale, Nov. 10, 92. Sale Cat. No. 228.*

41. (Crawford 41.) LIBRO DI CIMIERI.

Paper. ff. 85. 201 × 153 mm. xviith cent.

⁂ 121 rough drawings of helmets, mostly with plumes; also a number of other drawings, mathematical notes, etc.

42. (Crawford 42.) CARTA GEOGRAFICA.

Vell. 1020 × 808 mm. Mounted on canvas. 1567.

⁂ This map gives the coasts of Europe, Asia Minor, North Africa, etc. Many place names, written in Italian, are given. It is ornamented in colours with the figures of rulers, representations of cities, drawings of flags, ships, etc. There is the following inscription: *Iacobus maiolus condam vescontis fecit hanc cartam Genue anno domini 1567 die xx februarij.*

43. (Crawford 43.) VENEZIA. (f. 2^v) Auendo io per longo tenpo dimorato nela nobile zita di uenegia . . . (f. 3) Qui comenzia el libro chiamato el sommo de la chondicione e stato e prencipio della cita di uenetia e del suo teritorio composto [*name erased*]. Chapitulo primo. Di tuta italia lonbardia e toscana . . .

Paper. ff. 27 + i. 317 × 225 mm. xvth cent.

⁂ f. 25 Notes by the writer, *Andrea Vituri* in 1464, but see f. 2^v. Former owner: Howell Wills (Sale No. 1878).

44. [R. 52934.] HOMER. Omero stravestuto a la Napoletano da D. Nicola Capasso a lo sio D. Muzio de Majo. (f. 3) Bello e chiantuto . . . (f. 5) De la Guerra de Troja, Libbro primmo. Dimme sia. . . .

Paper. ff. 178 + i. 205 × 153 mm. xviiith cent.

⁂ Books I-V. See Nicolò Capasso, *Poesie Napoletane, Maccaroniche e Satiriche.* (Collezione di tutto i poemi in lingua Napoletana, vol. 15, Napoli, 1787), pp. 5-181.

45. (Crawford 45.) MUSICA.

Paper. ff. 96 + iii. 162 × 229 mm. xviiith cent.

⁂ Music by Pier Luigi Palestrina (ff. 1-45), Tomasso Lodovico da Vittoria (ff. 46-49), Giovanni Animuccia (ff. 50-57), P. Costanzo Porta (ff. 58-59), Zarlino (ff. 60-61), Giovanni Battista Fazzini (ff. 62-69), Gregorio Allegri (ff. 70-81).

46. (Crawford 46.) MUSICA. Carlo Moroni. Messa di Requiem. A 4 voci.

Paper. ff. 74 + iv. 221 × 285 mm. 1837.

⁂ f. 1. *A Lord Lindsay en attestat d'estime. L'Auteur.*

47. (Crawford 47.) MUSICA. Giovanni Battista Pergolesi. Stabat Mater. A due voci soprano e contralto, con violini, viole e basso.

Paper. ff. 48 + ii. 223 × 278 mm. *Circ.* 1841.

48. [R. 18109.] DANTE ALIGHIERI. [La Divina Commedia.] (f. 1) Nel mezzo del camin di nostra uita . . . (f. 200^v) . . . Come uirtute et matrimonio imponne.

Vell. ff. 200 + vii (paper). 207 × 131 mm. xvith cent.

⁂ This MS. contains the *Inferno* and the *Purgatorio*, i-xxv, l. 135. Former owner: *Ex libris Gualteri Sneyd.*

49. [R. 21097.] DANTE ALIGHIERI. [La Divina Commedia.] (f. 1) (N)el meço del cammin . . . (f. 174) . . . el altre stelle. Explicit Tertia et ultima Commedia Dantis Allegherii Florentini

Poete Excellentissimi. Scripta fuit per me bartolomeum landi de landis de prato notarium. Et completa fuit die xxviiii Iunii Anno M CCCCxvi, Indictione viiii.

BENVENUTO DA IMOLA. **(f. 174^v) Nescio qua tenui sacrum meo carmine dantem . . .**

S. AVGVSTINVS **(f. 174^v) Epistolam fili Petre tue caritatis . . .**

ISIDORVS HISPALENSIS. **[Sententiarum libri III.] (f. 177) Quod deus summus et incomutabilis sit. Summum bonum . . .** (*A somewhat abbreviated version.*)

MISCELLANEA. **(f. 227) Prouerbiorum. Ne delecteris semitis impiorum . . . (f. 229) Ecclesiastes. Relinque proximo tuo . . . (f. 230) Incipit Viridarium Consolationis. Quoniam ut Petrus apostolus ait spiritu sancto . . .** (*Part I*). **(f. 233^v) Parliamento facto tra Scipione ducha de Romani e Anibale ducha de Cartaginesi. Volendo parlamentare . . .**

DANTE ALIGHIERI. **(f. 235^v) Cançone di dante aleghieri e parla di firençe. Patria degna di triumphal fama. . . .**

CICERO MARCVS TULLIVS. **(f. 237, *o.n.* 1) Comincia lesordio di Tulio della vechieçça formato sopra versi d ennio li quali scrisse a flammenio comincia Tulio a parlare. Cito se io in alcuna cosa . . . (f. 245^v, *o.n.* 9) . . . per experiença prouare possiate. Ammen. Vulterris die xxiij mense decembr' MCCCCXXVJ Indictione V. Bartholomeus olim landi de landis de prato notarius.**

S. BERNARDUS. **(f. 245^v, *o.n.* 9) Pistola di Sancto Bernardo a Messer Ramondo. O Gratioso, e bene auenturoso . . .**

FAZIO DEGL'UBERTI. **(f. 246^v, *o.n.* 10) Cançone di fazio degluberti. A donna grande possente . . .**

MUGHIONE DA LUCHA. **(f. 247, *o.n.* 11) Cançone di Mughione da lucha. Spente la cortesia. . . .**

TACITUS, CORNELIUS. **(f. 247, *o.n.* 11) Pistola di Senecha a Nerone scricta per Cornelio tacito per molte infamationi porte contro a esso Senecha . . . (f. 247^v, *o.n.* 11) Risposta di Nerone a Senecha al decto parlamento. Che io possa rispondere . . .**

PETRARCHA, FRANCESCO. **(f. 248^v, *o.n.* 12) Cançone di Messer Francesco Petrarca. Io uo pensando.**

DE GRATIA. **(f. 249) Quoniam pluries rogasti me ut aliquem tractatum scriberem de gratia . . .** (*a Latin treatise*).

Paper. ff. 260 + ii (vell.). 282 × 219 mm. 1416, 1426, *et circa.*

⁂ *See* Dr. Aluigi Cossio, *The Landi Dante Codex at Manchester* (*The Antiquary*, June, 1910, N.S. VI, pp. 209-213). There are a number of contemporary glosses or commentaries in the margins of the *Divina Commedia*, the text of which is also important for the many variants it contains. Autograph of G. L. Passerini on fly-leaf.

50. [R. 21169.] DANTE ALIGHIERI. **La Divina Commedia, illustrata dall'ingegnere Attilio Razzolini di Firenze. A.D. 1902.**

Vell. ff. 104, each mounted on cardboard. 595 × 470 mm. 1902.

⁂ Decorated frontispieces to the whole work and each of the three parts, and 100 folios, written on one side only and each containing a complete canto. The left-hand side of each page is ornamented with foliated borders and one or more miniatures of various sizes. There are numerous ornamented initials. The text is in four columns. Coloured copies of this manuscript were printed in the form of 100 double post-cards, each card containing one complete canto (Milano, Alfieri e Lacroix, 1902-03).

51. [R. 26222.] (Phillipps, 12302.) S. FRANCESCO. **(f. 1) Quisti sono li fioricti del glorioso Messer Santo Francescho. Capitolo primo. (E)t prima e da considerare che el glorioso messer . . . (f. 58) Questa e la tauola de l'antescripto libro . . .**

S. CHIARA. **(f. 60) Questa e la legenda della deuota Vergene sposa de Yhesu Christo Santa Chiara. Capitolo primo. (L)a mirabele donna santa chiara de vertu chiarissima . . .**

Vell. ff. 69 + ii (paper). 288 × 202 mm. Late xivth cent.

⁂ The *Fioretti* is divided into sixty-five chapters; chapters 1-52 give a different version of the usual text; chapters 53-62 correspond to *Delle Sacre Sante istimate di Santo Francesco* (see *Fioretti*, ed. Firenze, 1718; chapter 63 is an Italian version of the account of Fr. Marinus, nephew of Fr. Masseus de Marignano (for Latin version see the Diploma of Theobald, Bishop of Assisi, edited by P. Sabatier, *Fratris Francisci Bartholi de Assisio Tractatus de Indulgentia S. Mariae de Portiuncula*, Paris, 1900, pp. lxxvii-lxxviii); chapters 64-65 are an Italian version of the story of Michel Bernardi. The legend of S. Clare has eleven chapters. Other former owners: (f. 1) *Iste liber est pauperarum sorarum de fabriano*; (f. 1) *Payne, 1848.*

52. (Spencer 9799.) HOMER. **Il primo canto dell'Iliade d'Omero tradotto in versi Italiani. (f. 16, *o.n.* 1) Canta lo sdegno del Peliade Achille . . .**

Paper. ff. 31 + v. 233 × 181 mm. Early xviiith cent.

⁂ ff. 4-13. An introductory letter *All' Altezza Reale di Federico Principe di Wales e Principe Elettorale di Hanouer. Scipione Maffei.* This translation was printed in 1736 (Giovanni Brindley, Londra).

53. [R. 56063.] S. ANTONINO, ARCIVESCOVO DI FIRENZE. (f. 2, *o.n.* 1) Somma di frate Antonino Arcivescovo di Firenze dellordine de predicatori de septe peccati incipit feliciter. Omnis mortalium . . . (f. 73^v, *o.n.* 72) . . . non dopo la dette tale eta. Amen. Finisce la somma di frate Antonino sopra e sette peccati mortali feliciter. (f. 74) [Canticles and hymns for the breviary office. *In Latin*] Canticum dicitur feria secunda. Confitebor tibi. . . .

Vell. ff. 96 + vi. 244 × 160 mm. xvth cent.

⁂ f. 1 *Tabula.* f. 2. Ornamented initial with a miniature portrait of a bishop (probably the author) holding a crozier. Bookplate of Lord Vernon. Old No.: *46.*

54. [R. 48227.] (Phillipps 5410.) NAPOLI. Annali et altre memorie antiche del Regno di Napoli descritte da diuersi Autori, *etc.* (f. 4) Indice. (f. 7) Qualiter urbs Cumana fuit destructa et de translatione Sancte Juliane Virginis et aliarum Sanctarum Reliquiarum in hac civitate Neapolis. (f. 14, *o.n.* 7) Annales Ludouici de Raimo Senioris, et Junioris, necnon dominorum Franzoni et Lanzellotti, Equitum Hyerosolimitanorum, ex originali volumine V. I. D. Antonii Afeltrii comprobati (1250-1496). (f. 65, *o.n.* 58) Discorso di Giouanni Paolo certa Napolitano delle cose appartenenti al Regno di Napoli dal tempo del Ré Alfonso 2° sino al tempo che peruenne in potere del Ré Ferdinando il Cattolico . . . (f. 104, *o.n.* 97) Tarenti ex Notario Angelo Crasullo. (f. 119, *o.n.* 112) Instruttione del Ré Federico al Gran Capitano, die 24 de luglio, 1498. (f. 131, *o.n.* 124) Depositione di un testimonio per la quale consta un alto notabile di mansuetudine e Giustitia usato dal Ré Cattolico con lo uallano de matera. Estratta dal Processo originale del sacro consiglio di Napoli . . . (f. 137, *o.n.* 130) Processo contro Fra Geronimo Sauonarola Ferrarese, 1498. (f. 173, *o.n.* 166) Pauli Emilii Sanctorii Annalium Fragmenta. (f. 189, *o.n.* 182) (Memorie antiche di Napoli estratte dall' Archiuio della Zecca). (f. 244, *o.n.* 237) Ex Registris Regum Caroli primi, Caroli secundi, Roberti, Joannae primae et Ladislai. (f. 278, *o.n.* 271) Le scritture sequenti sono aggionte, essendo peruenute separatamente in potere del Padrone di questo volume dalla cortesia del Sig^r D. Mauritio d'Asti, dal quale hebbe questo volume dal quale si vedono similmente transcritte le antecedenti, et seguenti scritture. (f. 279, *o.n.* 272) Copia contractus capitulorum firmatorum per introscriptos nobiles

sedilis nidi in anno 1507. Per manus quondam notarii Benedicti de Bienna de Neapoli. (f. 292, *o.n.* 285) Copia contractus de modo vestiendi per nobiles viros, milites, ac vallectos sedilis Capuanae per manus quondam notarii Bartholomei de Gemma et Judice Riccardo Caracciolo Cassano. Anno 1298. Extracta a Processu S.R.C. inter Vincentium Horatium Scipionem et Tristanum Gallutii cum Illustri Platea nidi in B^{ca}. de Amico præsentata. In anno 1576. (f. 298, *o.n.* 291) Ordini conclusi et stabiliti per l'Ill^{ri}. SS^{ri}. della casa Carrafa . . . (f. 309, *o.n.* 302) Concessio et Confirmatio facta in fauorem monasterii Sancti Gregorii quod de præsenti appellatur Sanctus Ligorius de Neapoli. (f. 314^{v}, *o.n.* 307^{v}) Copia instrumenti venditionis, seu concessionis in Anno Domini 1260, regnante Manfredo Rege anno eius 3^{o} . . . (f. 317, *o.n.* 310) Ex Archivio Regiæ Siclæ in libro signato B, 1274, fol. 204. Porrecta culmini . . .

Paper. ff. 318 + i. 303 × 218 mm. xviiith cent.

⁂ Bookplate of Lord North. Old No.: *745*.

55. [R. 40339.] DIFESA DELLA FILOSOFIA. Alla Santità d'Innocentio XII. Per la Filosofia, 1694. (f. 2) E qui io arei già finito . . .

Paper. ff. 146 + ix. 146 × 104 mm. 1694.

⁂ Former owner: Edward Peacock, Esq. *25 Feb.* (18)*66*. f. i *Bo^{t} in Spain.* Old No.: *879/3*.

56. [R. 17319]. DANTE ALIGHIERI, etc. (f. 2, *o.p.* 1) Incipit il libro della nuova vita di dante. In quella parte del libro . . . (ff. 38-41, *o.p.* 73-79) Sonetti di Tommaso di Giunta. (f. 38^{v}, *o.p.* 74) Sonetto di Bindo Altoviti. (f. 39, *o.p.* 75-76) Sonetti di Deo Boni a Tommaso di Giunta. (f. 41, *o.p.* 79) Dante a Messer Guido.

Paper. ff. 41 + vi. 310 × 203 mm. Late xixth cent.

⁂ f. 1. *Il libro della Nuova Vita di Dante Alighieri, secondo la lectione dello Strozziano Classe VI, Num. 143. Aggiuntevi le varianti del Laurenziano Plut. LXXXX super Num. 136, del Secolo XIV.* f. 1. *Ex libris Jos. L. Passerini.*

57. [R. 26542.] DANTE ALIGHIERI. Memoria sopra due codici manoscritti di Dante esistenti in Pesaro, scritta da Torquato dei Marchesi Antaldi Pesarese 1847.

Paper. ff. 6 + xii. 285 × 203 mm. 1847.

⁂ Autograph MS. of Antaldi. f. iii. *Dalla Bibl. Dantesca di G. L. Passerini.*

58. (Crawford 7.) BERTI, ANTONINO. **Relatione della vita del Padre Maestro Frat. Antonino Berti fatta dal Padre Lettore fra Piero Ma(rtire) Naldini. Frat. Antonino Berti nobil fiorentino d'anni . . .**

Paper. ff. 10. 201 × 143 mm. Early xviith cent.

*** Unbound. Formerly inserted loosely in Italian MS. No. 7.

59. (Crawford 13.) SAVONAROLA, GIROLAMO. **(f. 1) Copia duna lettera del padre fra Girolamo Sauonarola scritta secondo loppinione di molti a lodouico sforza detto il Moro Duca di milano. (f. 2) Copia dun altra lettera del medesimo padre (*dated* Firenze alli 26 di marzo 1496). (f. 3) Copia dun altra lettera del medesimo. Fra benedetto adio . . . (*dated* 13 dottobre 1497).**

Paper. ff. 6. 217 × 149 mm. xvith cent.

*** Unbound. Formerly inserted loosely in Italian M.S. No. 13.

60. [R. 40371.] VENEZIA. **[Lettere ducali, ecc. 1435-1680.]**

Vell. ff. 24 + i. 197 × 137 mm. xviith cent.

*** In various hands. Copies of letters and official documents, chiefly of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. They include letters of the following Doges: (f. 14v) Francesco Foscari (*dated* Apr. 1, 1435); (f. 23) Pasquale Malipiero (*d.* Jul. 8, 1457); (f. 1) Antonio Grimani (*d.* Jan. 23, 1521); (ff. 1v, 14v, 15v) Andrea Gritti (*d.* Nov. 7, 1536; Sept. 27, 1536; Aug. 21, 1535); (ff. 2v, 3v) Francesco Donato (*d.* June 27, 1546; Aug. 18, 1546); (f. 17v) Pasquale Cicogna (*d.* June 22, 1594); (f. 13) Giovanni Bembo (*d.* Oct. 26, 1616); (f. 18v) Francesco Molin (*d.* Jan. 30, 1645); (f. 21v) Domenico Contarini (*d.* Apr. 7, 1571); and also of various Venetian officials, etc. f. i. A rough late seventeenth-century painting, the top half depicting a lion holding open a book on which is written the letters *P.T.G.|M.|E.M.S.*, the bottom half three gentlemen with swords. Former owner: Edward Peacock, Esq. Old MS. Nos.: *1270; 1311.*

61. [R. 68301.] (Phillipps 8771.) MALIPIERO. **[Catastico di scritture della famiglia Malipiero, 1586-1606.] (f. 1v) Reportorio de tutte gli Instrumenti et scritture registrate nel presente Catastico secondo vulgar.**

Vell. ff. 106 + iii (paper). 330 × 230 mm. xviith cent.

*** Certain charters, now numbered I-LXXXXIII, are evidently translated from a collection of Latin charters, numbered CCCXXXXV-CCCCXXXVII, another series numbered I-XI are translations of a Latin series I-XI. Many of the charters were drawn up in Padua.

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